



THE GORLESTON PSALTER



THE CORRECTION

THE CORRECTION



ta hic michi ministrabat.

**N**on habitabit in medio domus  
mee qui facit supbiam: qui loquitur  
iniqua n̄ directus in aspectu od̄or̄ meor̄.

**I**n matutino misisti clamorem omnes  
p̄cores t̄re: ut disperderem te ciuitate  
dñi omnes op̄antes iniquitatem.

**O** mme exaudi  
or̄em meum: et  
clamor meus ad  
te ueniat.

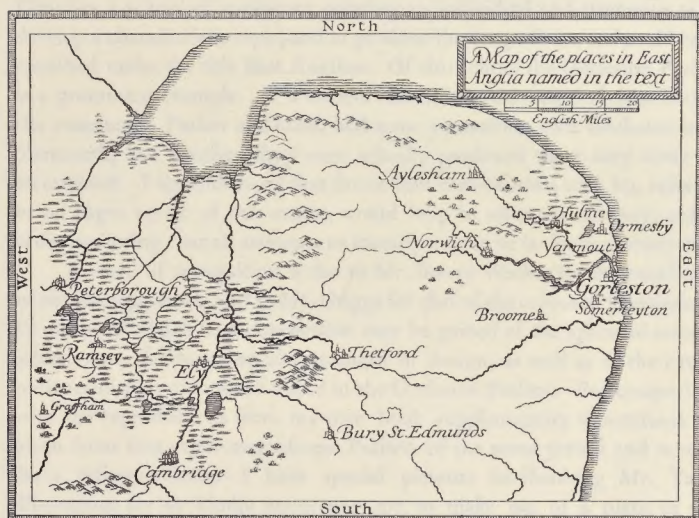
**N**on aut̄as fa-  
ciem tuam a me: in quacumq; die  
tribl̄or̄ inclina ad me aurem tuam.

**I**n quacumq; die inuocauero te:  
uelociter exaudi me.



# THE GORLESTON PSALTER

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE BEGINNING OF THE  
FOURTEENTH CENTURY IN THE LIBRARY OF  
C. W. DYSON PERRINS. DESCRIBED IN RE-  
LATION TO OTHER EAST ANGLIAN BOOKS  
OF THE PERIOD BY SYDNEY C. COCKERELL



LONDON

PRINTED AT THE CHISWICK PRESS

1907

# THE GORLESTON PSALTER

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE BEGINNING OF THE  
FOURTEENTH CENTURY IN THE LIBRARY OF  
C. W. DAVENPORT, DESCRIBED IN RE-  
LATION TO OTHER EAST ANGLIAN BOOKS  
OF THE PERIOD BY ARTHUR C. COCKERILL



PRINTED AT THE CHURCHMAN PRESS

1897



WITH comparatively few exceptions the great works of art of the Middle Ages are anonymous. Huge as was the output of written books in England before the fifteenth century, the list of the scribes whose names have come down to us is a meagre one, that of the illuminators still more meagre. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that nothing should be known of the men who executed the book described in the following pages so fully and so ably by Mr. S. C. Cockerell, and that even the place where they worked should be a matter of conjecture. It is, however, certain that towards the end of the thirteenth century there sprang up in the Eastern Counties a school of miniature painting so individual and strenuous as to develop a characteristic style, and to produce the magnificent series of books classified under the title East Anglian. Of this school the Gorleston Psalter is a prominent example. It is evident that at least one other of these books, the companion Psalter at Douai, had some connection with Gorleston near Yarmouth, but whether they were actually produced there may never be ascertained. I am convinced that the central coat-of-arms on f. 69, referred to on pages 19-20 of this notice, would help to solve the mystery, and it is disappointing that all attempts to identify it have so far been unsuccessful.

A word of recognition is due to Mr. Emery Walker for the excellence of the photogravures, and to Mr. Griggs for that of the coloured frontispiece, by means of which some impression may be gained of the splendid colour-scheme and the harmony and strength of design, as well as of the extraordinary display of humour found in the Gorleston Psalter. For comparison with the reproductions from my own book supplementary illustrations are given from four other magnificent Psalters of the same period and school. As a fellow-collector I have special pleasure in thanking Mr. Yates Thompson for so kindly permitting me to make use of a plate of the Beatus-page of the St. Omer Psalter, which forms one of the chief treasures of his famous library. My thanks are also due to Dr. G. F. Warner for the use of negatives of the Douai Psalter taken for the New Palaeographical Society.

C. W. DYSON PERRINS.

DAVENHAM, MALVERN.  
23rd September, 1907.



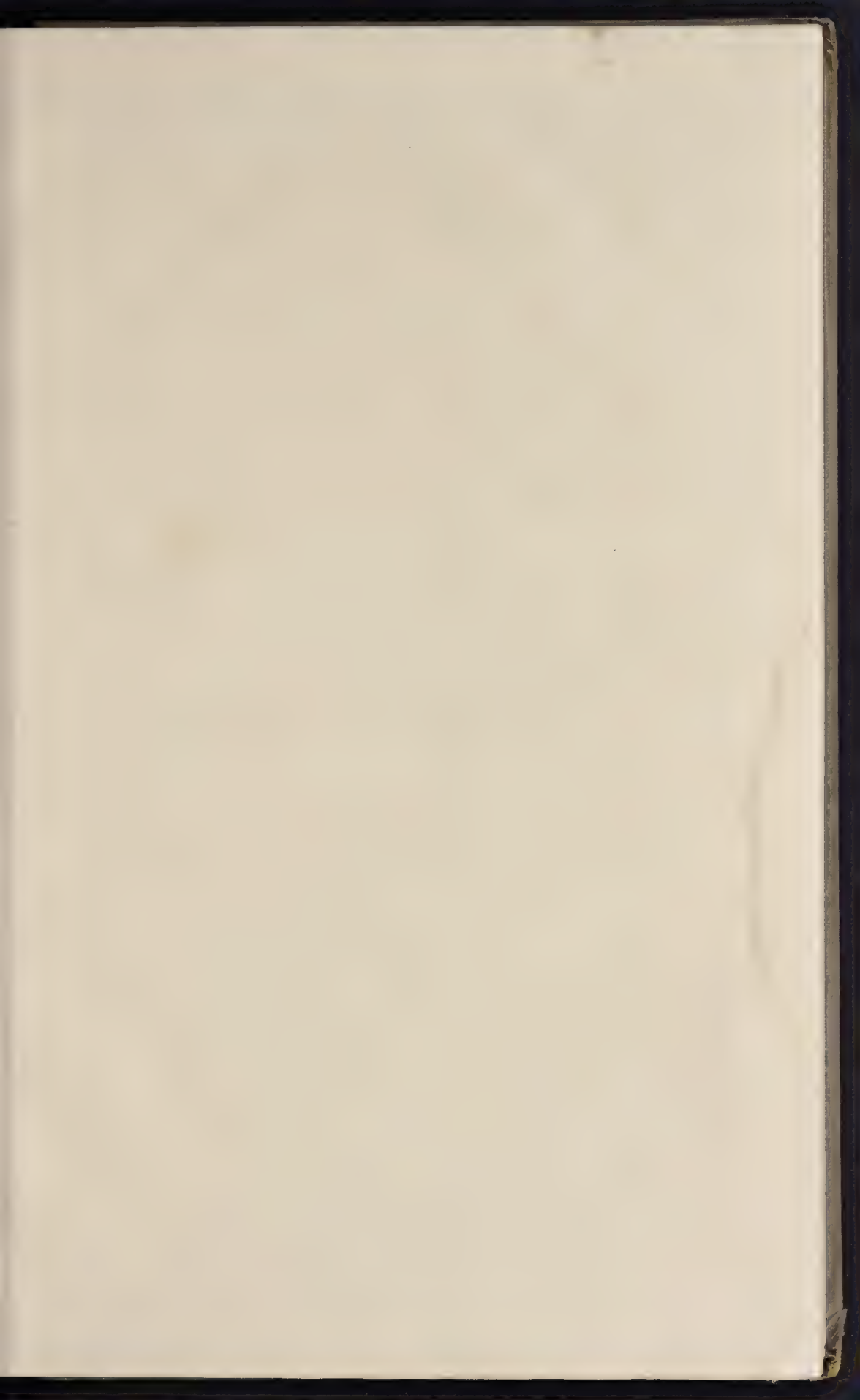


## LIST OF PLATES

I.	GORLESTON PSALTER	f. 128 <i>b</i> .	Psalm ci.
II.	" "	f. 4 <i>b</i> .	Kalendar, August.
III.	" "	f. 7.	Crucifixion.
IV.	" "	f. 8.	Psalm i.
V.	" "	f. 107 <i>b</i> .	Psalm lxxx.
VI.	" "	f. 126.	Psalm xcvi.
VII.	" "	f. 190 <i>b</i> .	Canticle: <i>Confitebor</i> .
VIII.	" "	f. 210 <i>b</i> .	Litany.
IX.	" "	Marginal subjects.	
X.	" "	" "	" "
XI.	" "	" "	" "
XII.	" "	" "	" "
XIII.	" "	" "	" "
XIV.	" "	" "	" "
XV.	ST. OMER PSALTER	Psalm i.	
XVI.	DOUAI PSALTER	Crucifixion.	
XVII.	" "	Psalm i.	
XVIII.	" "	Four other pages.	
XIX.	ORMESBY PSALTER	Psalm i.	
XX.	ARUNDEL PSALTER, I	Psalm i.	
XXI.	" " , II	Crucifixion.	











## THE GORLESTON PSALTER

**A**MONG the illuminated books of the middle ages there are four important types which may be regarded as specially English. These are the Psalters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, for the most part executed at Winchester, the Bestiaries of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, perhaps originating at York, the Apocalypses of the thirteenth century, some of which may be traced to Canterbury or St. Albans, and lastly, the large and richly painted Psalters, mostly of the first half of the fourteenth century, which have no Continental counterpart, and which are the special glory of the East Anglian school of book-decoration. It is one of the finest of these, known as the Gorleston Psalter, that I am about to describe.

This East Anglian school, which comprised the great monastic centres of Norwich, Ely, Ramsey, and Bury St. Edmunds, and must also be held to include Peterborough, though this was just outside the old East Anglian boundary, developed towards the end of the thirteenth century, and no doubt owed some of its vitality to influences from across the Channel, its sympathy with the vigorous schools of Artois and French Flanders being clearly shown in its fondness for marginal grotesques. It is, nevertheless, like the church architecture of the district, essentially and characteristically English. Its main features are the stateliness of the writing and the lavishness of the ornament, which is gay in colour, and virile, if somewhat irresponsible, in design. The margins are decorated with borders, half-borders, and a variety of drolleries. Leaves of vine and oak, red or green, and sometimes holly, are largely employed with sprays of daisies, marigolds and pimpernels, and with a long serrated leaf, usually blue, which though sometimes in profile, sometimes expanded, is seldom disengaged from an irregular background of colour or dotted gold. Birds and beasts are often introduced with much spirit, and if the figure-work has little of the tender devotional expressiveness found in the Apocalypses above referred to, it is nearly always lively and strong, and in more than one book marvellously delicate.

The earliest manuscript which need be mentioned as leading up to the Gorleston Psalter is another splendid Psalter, written about half a century earlier, c. 1250-70, in the collection of the Duke of Rutland.<sup>1</sup> It is the earliest book that I have seen in which there is a profusion of marginal grotesques. Next comes the first quire of the Tenison Psalter,<sup>2</sup> c. 1281-84,

<sup>1</sup> *New Palaeographical Society*, Plates 64-66. The Kalendar and Litany are Sarum.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MS. 24686. See Warner, *Illum. MSS. in Brit. Mus.*, Ser. ii, pl. 6. *Pal. Soc.*, Ser. i, pl. 196. Sir E. Maunde Thompson, *English Illuminated MSS.*, pl. 12.

The Peter-  
borough Psalters  
at Brussels and  
Oxford

Arundel 83,  
Stowe 12, and  
other kindred  
books

The Douai and  
St. Omer  
Psalters

with which must be associated a Peter Comestor, in the same manner.<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain where these fine books were produced, but a Psalter of great magnificence in the Royal Library at Brussels,<sup>2</sup> written throughout in blue and gold, c. 1300, was undoubtedly executed at Peterborough. The ornament is by several hands. The work of the best of them (ff. 10-14), recalls the two books last named, and some other pictured leaves closely resemble another Peterborough Psalter, at the Bodleian Library;<sup>3</sup> while the last third of the book (ff. 94-141), contains the serrated 'cabbage-leaf' described above, also found in the Bodleian volume, and brings the Brussels Psalter into line with two imperfect Psalters bound together at the British Museum, known conjointly as the Arundel Psalter,<sup>4</sup> so leading to a Sarum Breviary,<sup>5</sup> c. 1322, at the British Museum, and to a large Sarum Missal of about the same date, formerly belonging to William Morris, and now to Mr. Pierpont Morgan,<sup>6</sup> in which there are over six hundred bordered pages. Other books that are more or less connected in style with these are the famous Ormesby Psalter, at Oxford;<sup>7</sup> a noble *Gregorii Moralia* at Cambridge,<sup>8</sup> the decoration of which was probably due to one of the most skilful artists employed on the Ormesby Psalter; a Sarum Horae, formerly in the Fountaine and Morris libraries, now no. 242 at the Fitzwilliam Museum; a Psalter at Munich<sup>9</sup> with Latin text in black, and French text opposite in red, apparently executed, c. 1308, for Isabella, queen of Edward II; and a Psalter, of the same date, executed at Ramsey Abbey, now in the Abbey of St. Paul in the Lavanttal, Carinthia.<sup>10</sup> Finally we come to a Psalter at Douai,<sup>11</sup> and another Psalter, known as the St. Omer Psalter, belonging to Mr. Yates Thompson. These last, both as late as 1322, represent the full flower of the East Anglian School, and must be constantly referred to in any account of the companion Psalter which is the subject of this notice. The Lutterel Psalter, c. 1340,<sup>12</sup> shows the style in its decadence.

Of the men who wrote and adorned this wondrous series of books no-

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus., 3 D. vi. See *New Pal. Soc.* pl. 13.

<sup>2</sup> 9961-2. See Delisle, *Mélanges de Paléographie*, pp. 197-207. M. R. James, *Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, ix, 178-194.

<sup>3</sup> Barlow 22. There is another fine Peterborough Psalter of this date at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

<sup>4</sup> Arundel 83. The second of the two, which has now no text except the Kalendar, is far the finer. *Pal. Soc.*, Ser. i, pl. 99, 100. Sir E. Maunde Thompson, *English Illuminated MSS.*, pl. 17. Warner, *Illum. MSS. in Brit. Mus.*

<sup>5</sup> Stowe 12. *Pal. Soc.*, Ser. ii, pl. 197. Warner, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> See his catalogue of MSS. by Dr. M. R. James, no. 8. It contains the arms of John de Clavering (d. 1332 at Aynhoe, and buried at Langley, Norfolk) and his wife Hawise de Tibetot.

<sup>7</sup> Bodleian, Douce 366. This is referred to below, p. 5. Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson has sought to prove that it was written at Bury St. Edmunds, but the evidence does not seem to me to support such a conclusion.

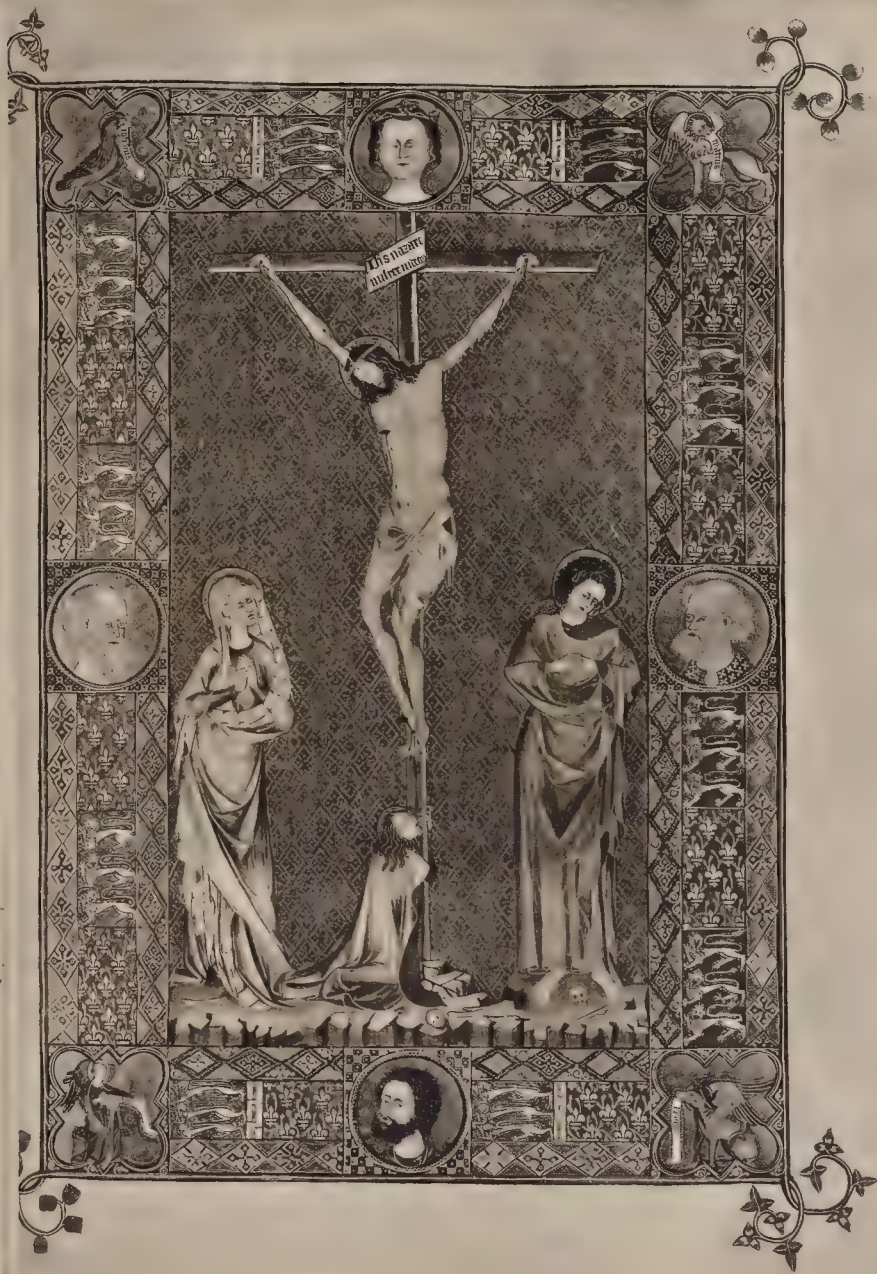
<sup>8</sup> Emanuel College, 112. It probably came from Norwich. See Dr. James's Catalogue.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. Gall. 16. This very remarkable and beautiful book has a York Kalendar, and in the Litany, which otherwise suggests the Eastern countries, there is the suffrage *Ut archiepiscule nostrum*, which always points to one of the archiepiscopal sees. The lower margins are finely historiated.

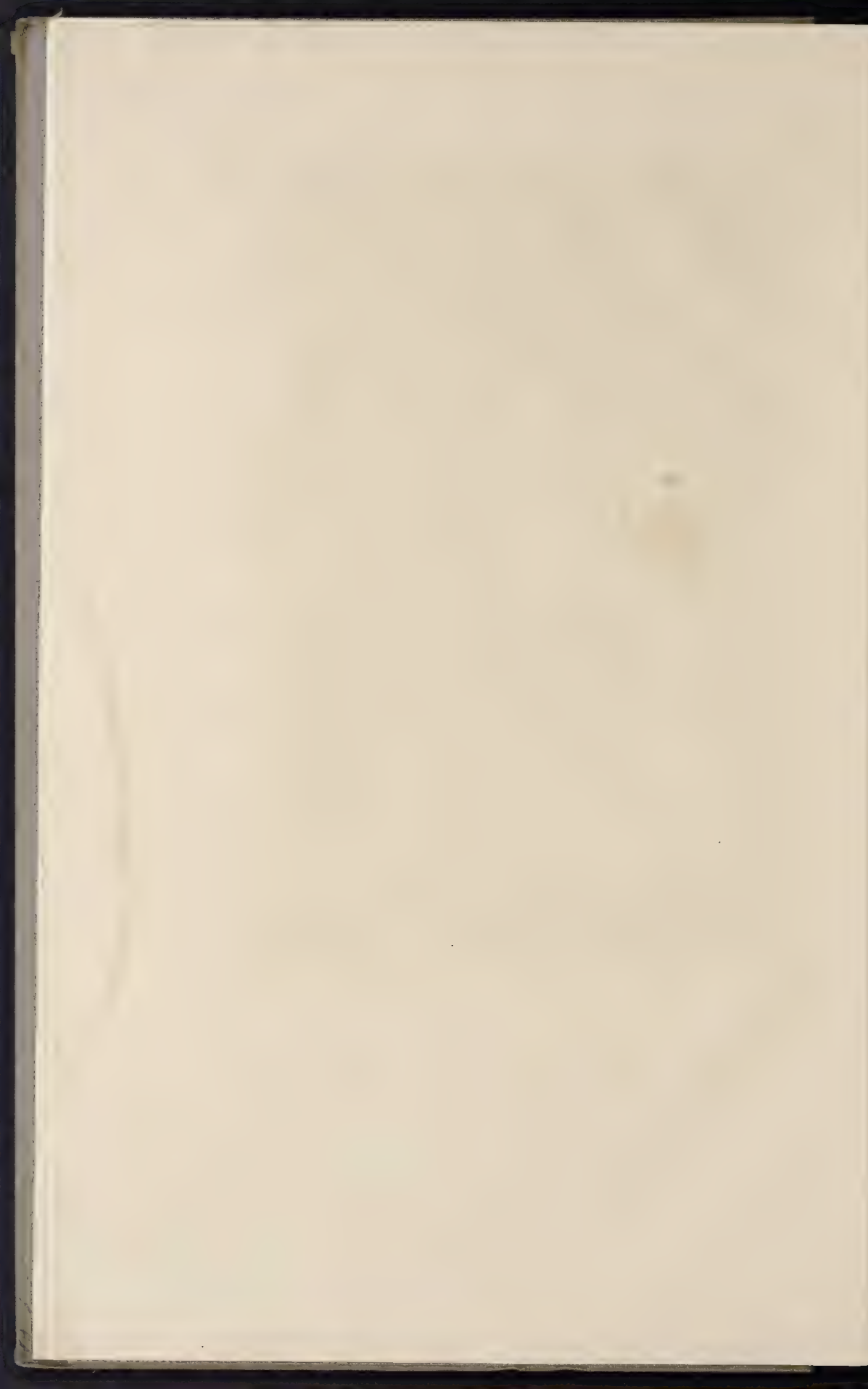
<sup>10</sup> Five pictured leaves from this book were in the Weigel Collection, no. 29 in the Sale Catalogue, in which a page was reproduced in colours. See R. Eisler's *Die illuminierten handschriften in Kärnten*, pp. 83-89, for full description.

<sup>11</sup> MS. 171.

<sup>12</sup> *New Pal. Soc.*, plates 41-43.







thing is known. Not a name has come down to us of any scribe or illuminator of the East Anglian School, unless the monk whose portrait appears with the words *Grafham honoretur*<sup>1</sup> at the foot of the last page of the Kalendar in the above-named Ramsey Psalter be one or the other, which is very doubtful.<sup>2</sup> It is likely that the scribes were still in most cases monastic, though this is not certain. Dr. James has made the interesting discovery that the miniatures in the Psalter at Brussels were copied from paintings, now destroyed, in the choir of Peterborough Cathedral, but whatever deductions may be made from this, I suspect that in the fourteenth century the best of the artists were laymen, who contracted for given pieces of work, and moved from place to place, at the beck and call of various patrons. In France this was certainly the case, and it would be rash to assume that it is to monks that we owe the decoration of the Gorleston, Douai, and St. Omer Psalters, and of the Breviary Stowe 12.

The names of the illuminators unknown

But probably at this time laymen

These four books are closely connected, and form a group by themselves. They were certainly executed under the same auspices. In the earliest of them, the Gorleston Psalter, the feast of the dedication of Gorleston Church, Suffolk,<sup>3</sup> appears in gold in the Kalendar. The Douai Psalter not only resembles the Gorleston Psalter closely in style, while even excelling it in beauty and delicacy of execution, but contains a note at the beginning in a large formal hand, like that of the text, showing that it was given by Thomas, Vicar of Gorleston, to an Abbot named John,<sup>4</sup> whom Dr. Warner identifies provisionally with John of Aylesham, Abbot (1325-1346) of Hulme in Norfolk. It also contains two series of chronological notes, the first ending with the coronation of Edward II (1308), and the second with the beheading of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (Mar. 22, 1322). These same notes are found in Stowe 12. Dr. Warner points out that they show a connection with the diocese of Norwich, and from the fact that the death of Bishop Salmon in 1325 is not recorded he concludes that the Douai Psalter and Stowe 12 were written between March 1322 and July 1325. Both these books, thus shown to have a common origin, contain in the Kalendars the name of Thomas of Hereford, canonized 1320, which is not in the Kalendar of the Gorleston Psalter. Other small variations in the three Kalendars, which are in the main identical, will be noted later.

Four books executed under the same auspices

The Douai Psalter

<sup>1</sup> Probably William of Graffham, in Huntingdonshire, who was cellarer of Ramsey Abbey in 1297 (*Cart. Mon. de Rameseia*, i, 64, Rolls Series), and whose Psalter with six other books passed at his death into the Abbey Library (*Chronicon Abb. Ramesiensis*, 357). From the catalogue printed in the latter work it would appear that the Abbey owned about a hundred Psalters. Another of these, a fine folio MS. of c. 1350, is no. 26 in the Earl of Leicester's Collection at Holkham. A monk holding the important and multifarious office of cellarer would have no time to spare for writing or illumination. The portrait is reproduced in *Die illuminierten handschriften in Kärnten*, by Robert Eisler (Leipzig, 1907, see pp. 83-89).

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. George E. Fox's article on *Mediaeval Painting* in the *Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. ii, pp. 551-552, for the names of early Norwich painters, some of whom may possibly have been illuminators also.

<sup>3</sup> March 8. *Dedicacio ecclesie de Gorlestone, maius duplex.*

<sup>4</sup> *Psalterium dompni Iobannis Abbatis ex dono dni Thome vicarii de Gorlestone.* The vicar of Gorleston must have been a wealthy man to have been able to make such gifts. There is no other mark of ownership.

The Douai  
Psalter

It is impossible to exaggerate the richness, beauty and splendour of the Douai Psalter, which, unlike the Tenison, Ormesby and St. Omer Psalters, is all of a piece throughout, without any falling off or admixture of inferior or cheaper ornament. It is, moreover, in absolutely perfect condition, clean and with its margins untrimmed since they received the arms of England on their edges at the first binding. The colour in the abundant decoration is most lovely and harmonious. The faces, however, lack the nobility of expression of the finest French work. The eyes are often very close together, and the principal artist is fond of an aureole of fuzzy hair. It has been my privilege to examine this volume, which must be pronounced the most sumptuous English fourteenth-century manuscript in existence, on two occasions, and on the last of these Mr. Perrins and I saw it side by side with the Gorleston Psalter, by the great kindness of the librarian, Mr. Benjamin Rivière, who admitted us at personal inconvenience on a public holiday, and gave us every facility for comparing them at leisure. The points of likeness and difference then observed will appear in the course of this essay.

The St. Omer  
Psalter

The St. Omer Psalter<sup>1</sup> was probably begun a very few years later than the Douai Psalter, and was unfortunately not finished until the fifteenth century, to which the Kalendar and a large part of the decoration, as well as some of the text, belong. Just as the Douai Psalter exceeds the Gorleston Psalter in delicacy, so does the original portion of the St. Omer Psalter, of which the opening page is given by Mr. Thompson's kindness in Plate XV, exceed even the Douai Psalter in miraculous perfection of technique.

A special type of  
face

Attention should be given to the portrait-like heads in the top border of this page, and again in the B. These are of a peculiar type, with white or very black hair treated in a new and natural manner very unlike the old convention of orderly waves and curls. The same treatment and similar faces will be noticed in the Crucifixion (Plate III), of the Gorleston Psalter,<sup>2</sup> but nowhere else in the book. As above stated, they are a marked feature of the Douai Psalter, and except in the figures added c. 1325 on ff. 9b and 10 of the Ormesby Psalter, I have seen this kind of handling only in these three kindred manuscripts. It is not found in Stowe 12, which is of a less advanced style than the Douai Psalter.

The Ormesby  
Psalter

It has been observed that both the Gorleston and Douai Psalters contain entries which show them to have had some original connection with Gorleston. Gorleston is practically a suburb of Yarmouth, but is just within the Suffolk border. About six miles to the north is Ormesby, the home of William of Ormesby, monk of Norwich, whose name is connected with a magnificent Psalter at Oxford, already referred to. It had been intended for other owners, having been begun for William de Warenne or some great lord of the time, and continued for Richard Foliot, who married Beatrice, the third sister and

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Warner's account in Mr. Yates Thompson's Catalogue, vol. ii, pp. 74-82, and *Facsimiles of six pages from a Psalter for a member of the St. Omer Family*, London, 1900. It subsequently belonged to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

<sup>2</sup> It will be shown later that the Crucifixion is by an artist whose work is confined to this leaf.



co-heir of Hugh and Robert Bardolf of Hoo.<sup>1</sup> These persons may be seen kneeling in the lower part of the B of the *Beatus*, reproduced in Plate XIX. This *Beatus*<sup>2</sup> was evidently added when Richard Foliot arranged for its completion. For some reason he seems never to have possessed it. His arms and those of his wife, sketched in unfinished line-endings in the last part of the book,<sup>3</sup> were painted over c. 1325, when William of Ormesby gave the volume to Norwich Priory. Among several additions then made (including the portrait of the donor over obliterated text on the *Beatus*-page) was a second Litany, special to Norwich, which has its counterpart in the Gorleston Psalter.

An added  
Norwich Litany

The finest work in the Ormesby Psalter is more imaginative, has more movement, more richness of colour, better figure-drawing than anything in the Gorleston Psalter; but it is confined to a few pages. Apart from these incomparable pages, there is no such wealth of marginal designs as in the latter book. The line-endings on ff. 22-45, 58-81, are full of heraldic devices, including the shields of Warenne, Clare, Bar, Dreux, Arundel, Leon and Castile, France and Navarre. On the edges are the arms of the See of Norwich, of Norwich Priory and of the family of Ufford. These were painted and the book bound after it had been given to Norwich Priory. It is still in its original cover with an enfolding chemise of thick sheepskin. The size of the page is approximately the same in the Ormesby and Gorleston Psalters.

Whether the Ormesby Psalter came from Gorleston it is impossible to say. If not earlier in date<sup>4</sup> than the Gorleston Psalter, which is certainly earlier than the Douai Psalter, it differs in style from them both. Of these two, however, and more doubtfully of Stowe 12, it is permissible to conjecture that they were actually produced at Gorleston, especially as we find that it was, in the fourteenth century, a place of no small importance. In the British Museum there are three volumes of notes respecting it (MSS. Eg. 2129-31) collected in 1863 from various sources by Dorcas Randall, a local antiquary. From these I have selected and slightly amended a few details which will not be out of place here in view of the above facts:

The Gorleston  
and Douai Psalters  
probably made at  
Gorleston near  
Yarmouth

"Gorleston was remarkable for its religious institutions. It had formerly a church dedicated to St. Andrew, and a Hospital of St. Mary and St. Nicholas as well as a monastery belonging to the Augustine friars."

St. Andrew's  
Church,  
Gorleston

<sup>1</sup> See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi, 917. He was fifteen at the death of his father, Jordan Foliot, in 1299.

<sup>2</sup> The page reproduced, which is now the verso, is really the recto of the leaf, the other side being occupied by the text of the first and part of the second psalm, with an intervening collect, in a hand obviously later than that of the book itself, in which the same text is repeated. In the Ormesby Psalter there is a collect after each psalm. The first of these begins *Effice nos*. The same collects are found in a Canterbury Psalter of c. 1220, Lat. 770 at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in another Canterbury Psalter of about the same date, Ashmol. 1525, at the Bodleian Library.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., ff. 154b, 165b, 190-192. On f. 154 they are painted in their proper colours by one of the best hands.

<sup>4</sup> The writing may well be of the thirteenth century, but much of the original decoration, which is by several hands, appears to me to be of the opening years of the fourteenth century. The borders lack the old formality; birds and flowers are drawn with great realism, and a knight, whom I take to be Goliath, on f. 38, has a movable visor to his helmet. The work of decoration was evidently interrupted, and the greater part of the book (ff. 46-57 and 82-209, except the bordered pages), was finished in a commonplace manner, perhaps after it went to Norwich.

The Austin  
Friars at  
Gorleston

"This Friary was founded by William Woderove and Margaret his wife, in the reign of Edward I. The friars obtained a license to enlarge their precinct in 1311, and shortly afterwards a composition was entered into between the Provincial of the Friars Eremites of the Order of St. Austin in England and Scotland and the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew in London proprietors of the churches of St. Andrew and St. Nicholas in Gorleston, respecting a house and oratory there."

"Among the early benefactors of St. Austin's Priory were Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester (d. 1262); Maud, his wife; Joan of Acre, his daughter-in-law, wife of Gilbert de Clare (d. 1295) and daughter of Edward I; Ralph Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Joan of Acre's second husband (d. about 1325); Edmund de Hengrave (1273); Roger Fitz Osbert (d. about 1306); and Roger Woodrove (1310)."

Their library

"The Priory of St. Austin was one of the most important in England, up to the time of the Dissolution, on account of its valuable library. It contained several curious missals and some scarce specimens of early printing, many of which were splendidly illuminated. Among the MSS. was a Gospels written before 1078, illustrated by spirited designs; a fine Greek MS. of the tenth century; and a splendid Missal upon vellum magnificently illuminated by Flemish painters about the close of the fifteenth century on 532 leaves."

The Franciscan  
Priory

"The Franciscan Priory in the parish of St. Andrew, begun c. 1260 and finished in 1272, was distinguished by a series of royal and noble benefactors. There is a deed extant of John, Earl of Warren, granting in 1280 to the Prior and Convent of St. Francis in Gorleston certain messuages between the Great Church and the Ferrie Bridge. Other benefactors were Laura, wife of Reginald de Argentine, and sister of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford (1292), Sir Bartholomew Somerton (1292) and Nicholas Castle. It was a stately and magnificent building, exceeding in bigness all the churches in the County of Suffolk, nay even the church of Yarmouth, according to the testimony of many credible authors. It was burnt down on 12 January, 1452, but all the silver and gilded vessels and ornaments, the mass-books, and other valuable books and papers, were saved."

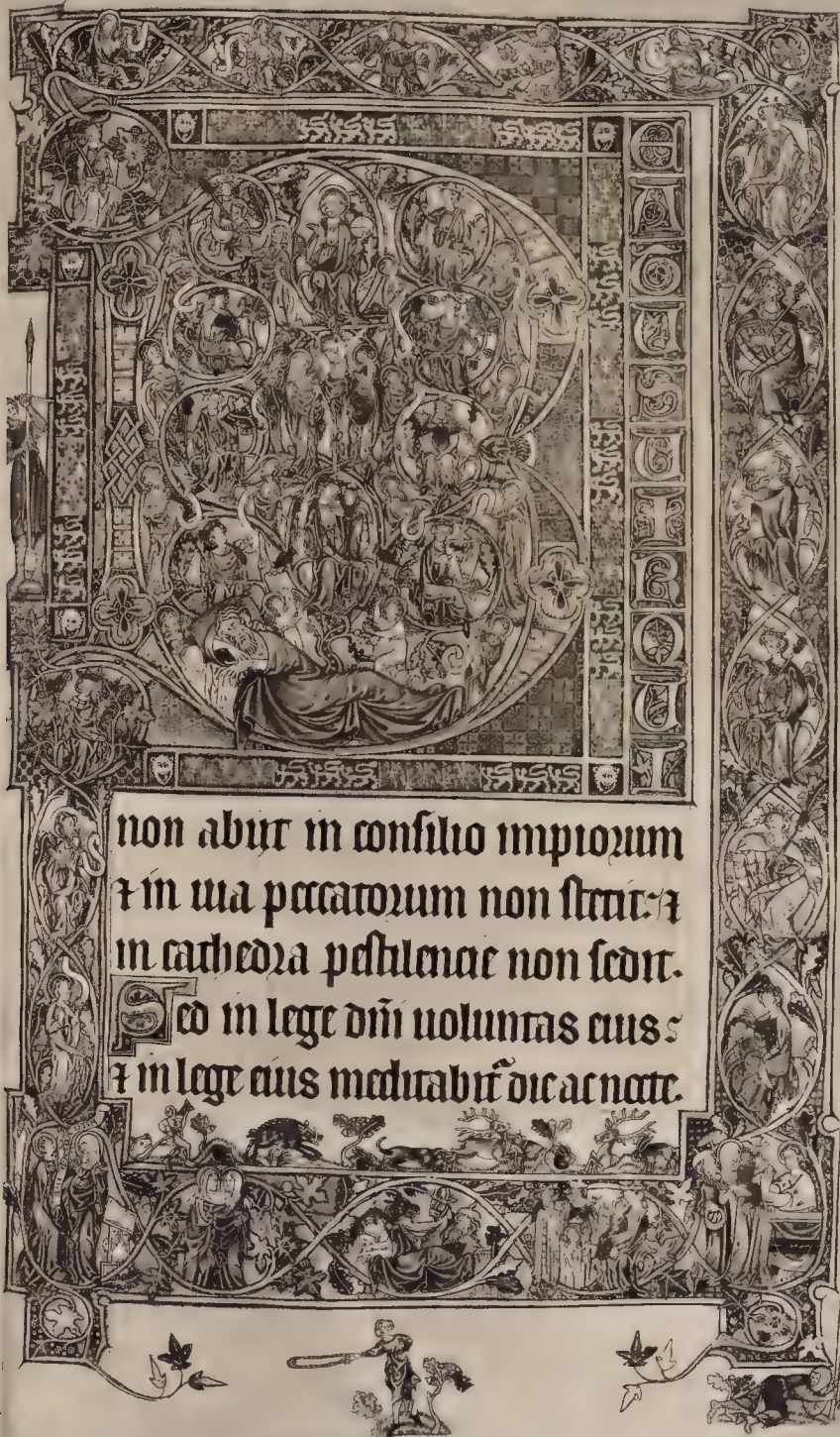
"The Prior of St. Bartholomew's, London, founded a mansion bearing the name of Canons' Hall in the 12th year of Henry III. It was afterwards improved into a Priory of Canons Regular, by the name of the Priory of St. Mary of Gorleston."

Changes at the  
Reformation

"Henry VIII ordered that all the premises of the Franciscans, the Friars Eremites, the Hospitals of St. James, St. John, St. Bartholomew and St. Luke, the Church and Hospital of St. Nicholas, the Chapels of St. Mary and St. John, and the Chapel of St. Michael should be sold and that the Parishes of St. Nicholas South-Town and St. Mary's West-Town, and so much of that of

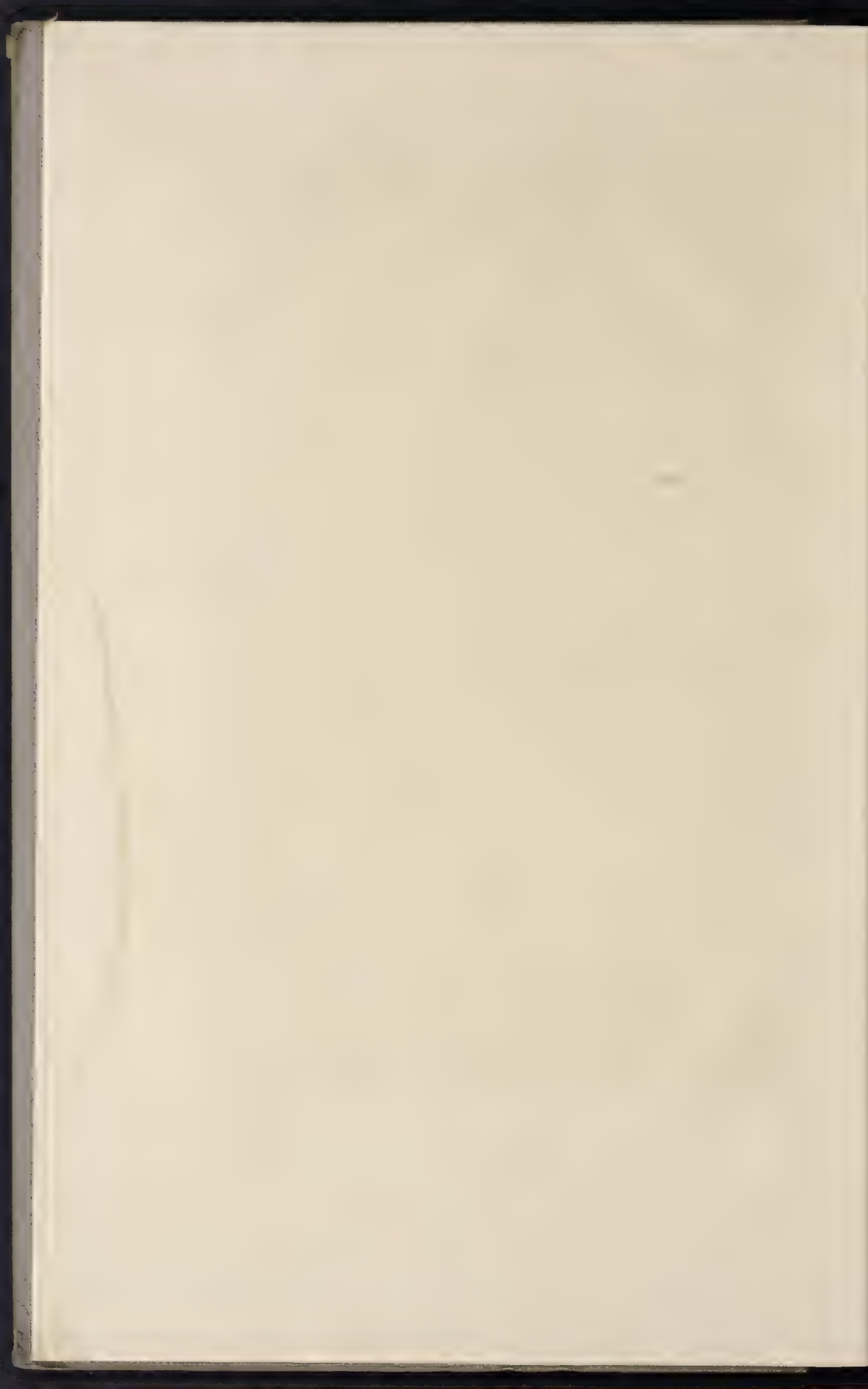
<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to know from what source this information was obtained and what has become of the books in question. William Lambarde, writing in the second half of the sixteenth century, says: "Here was of late years a librarie of most rare and precious workes, gathered together by the industrie of one John Brome, a monk of the same house, which died in the reign of King Henry the Sixte." Brome was prior of St. Austin's, and died in 1449.





non abuit in consilio impiorum  
et in uia peccatorum non stetit: et  
in cathedra pestilencie non sedit.  
**S**ed in lege domini uoluntas eius:  
et in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte.





St. Peter as lay within the Parish of St. Nicholas should be united with the Parish of St. Andrew, and that the Church of St. Andrew in Gorleston should be the mother church of the aforesaid Parishes."

St. Andrew's  
Church

"There was a brass of Sir Richard Trumpington in St. Andrew's Church, and another of Sir John Bacon. That of the latter, who was lord of Gorleston in 1292, was a fine specimen of the period. There were several other brasses of the Bacon family. Mural paintings covered the whole Church, and included a St. Christopher on the north wall."<sup>1</sup>

An often-quoted 'extract from Francis Jessup's Journal of 1643,' purports to give an account of the abovesaid mother church and its brutal treatment at the hands of puritanical fanatics at the time of the Reformation, but Dr. M. R. James has shown in *Notes and Queries* that it is a clever forgery, based on the genuine reports of William Dowsing, in which most of the actual phrases occur. These relate to other churches, and the discovery deprives me of a piece of very picturesque writing on which I had counted for the enlivening of my own dull and matter-of-fact recital. It is not known who was the ingenious compiler. He seems to have flourished early in the nineteenth century.

Of the Priory of St. Austin and most of its fellow buildings nothing can now be seen except a few scattered fragments. But St. Andrew's Church, built of flints like so many another in East Anglia, and with wide aisles extending the whole of its length, is still standing though greatly changed in modern times. As late as 1872 the painted St. Christopher, as well as the *Trois morts* and the *Trois vifs*, were still visible on the north wall, but in that year a disastrous 'restoration' took place, and they no longer exist. "The old roof of reeds was removed," says the present vicar,<sup>2</sup> "and replaced by tiles. The north wall of the north aisle, which was in a dilapidated state, was taken down and entirely rebuilt; likewise the south porch. The roofs of the nave, aisles and chancel are all new. That of the latter is semicircular in oak, elaborately carved. The two arcades and the south wall were raised to their original height. All the windows with the exception of those in the east end were restored and renewed where necessary. The tower was reopened, refloored and the interior restored. The western portion of the church which had been walled off to make a kind of promenade and vestry, in which were held parish meetings (often of an unseemly character), was opened out by removing the partition and organ-gallery, thus bringing into view the noble tower arch. The high-backed pews were taken out and replaced by open oak seats. New lighting arrangements and warming apparatus were provided, and the building was made thoroughly comfortable.

"The Committee was aided by the special gifts of friends, by which the church acquired a beautiful peal of bells,<sup>3</sup> stained glass windows, oak reredos,

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxvi, 229, 437-9, *Antiquary* (1872), ii, 184. On the south pillar of the chancel arch early paintings described as 'St. Anne and the Virgin with St. Catherine or St. Etheldreda beneath them' still exist. Part of the fine brass of Sir John Bacon is now in the Lady Chapel.

<sup>2</sup> *Gorleston and its Parish Church*, by Forbes Alexander Phillips (London, 1894).

<sup>3</sup> Four pre-Reformation bells were taken down and not preserved.

now in the Lady Chapel, choir stalls, oak pulpit, altar rails, and many other lesser gifts."

In short, the old church is now largely new, and replete with the modern ecclesiastical furniture detested by Ruskin and Morris. "Much remains to be done," adds the vicar, "before the ancient glories of our Parish Church will be in any way represented. But the work is going steadily on."

The Gorleston  
Psalter connected  
with St. Andrew's  
Church

I must now endeavour to trace the history of the Gorleston Psalter from the date of its origin to the present time. It was evidently for some distinguished person connected with the church of St. Andrew that it was written. Had it been for Augustinian or Franciscan use the special feasts of one of those orders would have been prominent in the Kalendar. This is not the case. Nor was it for a Benedictine house, though Benedictines are often represented in the initials and borders. On the other hand the name of St. Andrew is in gold, and although this is not unusual, it is significant that there are careful representations of this saint on the lower margins of ff. 11b, and 175,<sup>1</sup> as well as in an initial on f. 23.

Layman and  
monk associated  
in the initials

In the first of these miniatures two persons, a young layman and a monk, kneel on either side of the crucified St. Andrew. A similar pair may be seen again and again in the initials, but in all other cases the layman, who is associated with a monk<sup>2</sup> on ff. 67, 73, 113b, 114b, 119b, 128, 199 and is alone on ff. 10, 14, 70, 70b, 77, 78b, 79b, 205, 224b, 225, 225b, is depicted as old and bearded.

The man for  
whom the book  
was made

I take it that it was for this elderly layman that the Gorleston Psalter was made. Can he be identified? On f. 70b he sits on a cushioned bench and reads a book at a lectern. Beside him is a shield, *per pale or and vert a lion rampant gules*, which also occurs in a prominent place on f. 68b. These are the arms of Roger Le Bigod, fifth Earl of Norfolk, and Marshal of England (1270-1301). He died on 11th December, 1306, and, but for this fact, I should have assumed the date of the book, which cannot be earlier than 1299, owing to the association of the arms of France and England on f. 8, to be rather later than 1306.<sup>3</sup> I was at first inclined to fall back on his brother John, whom he had disinherited in 1302 by surrendering his titles and estates to the Crown, but Mr. St. John Hope, to whose great learning and equal readiness to place it at a friend's disposal I am often indebted, assures me that these arms were only borne by Roger Le Bigod in his capacity of Earl Marshal, and that no member of the family who did not hold that office could have borne them. They are, however, attributed *with a difference*, to a Rauf Bigod (see Papworth, p. 91). It is suggested by the chronicler Walter

Roger le Bigod,  
Earl Marshal

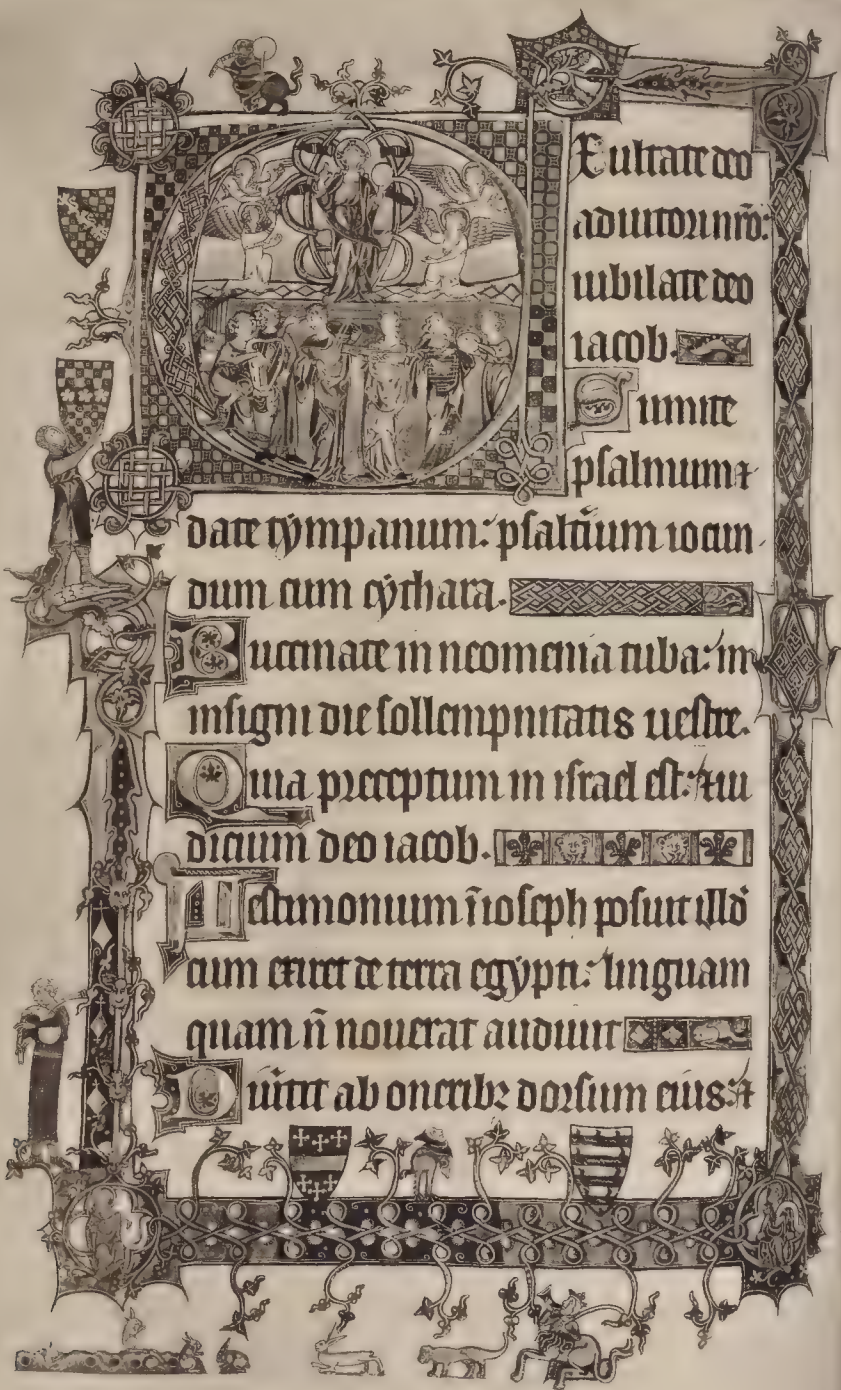
His brother John

<sup>1</sup> See Plate XIV and p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> The "monk" is often an unquestionable Benedictine, but may sometimes (e.g., ff. 67, 113b, 114b, 119b, 140b, in which the sleeves are narrow) be intended for an Austin friar or canon, if not for a Benedictine without his cowl.

<sup>3</sup> John de Warenne married Joanna, only daughter of Henry III, Count of Bar, by the Lady Eleanor Plantagenet, eldest daughter of Edward I, on 20th May, 1306. The absence of this lady's arms, although those of Warenne occur frequently, is, perhaps, additional evidence in favour of a date not later than 1306. They are found in the Ormesby Psalter.







de Hemingburgh that Roger and John Le Bigod had quarrelled, but nothing is known of the latter, except that he was forty years old at his brother's death. I can find no evidence for or against his having resided near Gorleston, and his place of burial is unrecorded.<sup>1</sup> In the reign of William the Conqueror an ancestor, Roger Bigod, was the King's steward over the lordship of Gorleston, and a map in the *Victoria History of Norfolk* shows how many places in the neighbourhood he owned at the time of the Domesday Survey.

An earlier Roger Bigod connected with Gorleston

It seems not unlikely that after the death of the original owner, whether Roger Le Bigod or another, the Gorleston Psalter became, like the Ormesby Psalter, the property of the Cathedral Priory of Norwich. In any case a Litany, applicable specially to that church, with double invocations of St. Benedict and St. William, was for some reason added later in the fourteenth century. It is identical (except for the presence of two extra collects) with the added Litany in the Ormesby Psalter, and must have emanated from the same source, the invocations and petitions being very numerous.

The Gorleston Psalter perhaps later at Norwich

From that period until the second half of the sixteenth century it is impossible to follow the fortunes of the book. It probably fell into secular hands at the Reformation, though it seems to have remained in East Anglia. From the sixteenth century onwards its history is clear.

At the top of the first page is written in a neat Elizabethan hand *Thomas Cornwallis miles*. Sir Thomas Cornwallis was a noted man in his day. From Burke's *Extinct Peerages*, p. 137, I have taken most of the following details. He was born in 1519 and succeeded his father, Sir John Cornwallis, in 1544. He displayed great personal courage against the Norfolk rebels, led by Kit the tanner, in 1549, and he subsequently held the office of sheriff for Norfolk and Suffolk. He was also instrumental in the suppression of Wyatt's insurrection, and was commissioned with the Earl of Sussex and Sir Edward Hastings for the trial of Sir Thomas Wyatt in 1554. At this time he was sworn of the Privy Council and constituted Treasurer of Calais. In the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary he represented Suffolk in Parliament. Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, being a Roman Catholic he was left out of the Privy Council and removed from the comptrollership of the household, which he had held under Mary. He then retired into the country and built Broome Hall in Suffolk, of which there is a large engraving by Kip from a drawing by L. Knyff. Broome Hall was destroyed in 1811.

Sir Thomas Cornwallis

The monument of Sir Thomas Cornwallis in Broome church is lithographed with other monuments of the Cornwallis family in a volume at the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> The inscription there given is:

"Sir Thomas Cornwallis sone of Sir Ihon was of Queen Mary her Privy Councell and Treasurer of Caley's after Comptroller of her Houshold in speciall grace and trust of

<sup>1</sup> I find in Eg. MS. 2130 that near the brass of Sir Henry Bacon, c. 1320, was "a figure in mail armour wearing a military surcoat charged with a lion rampant," but it is unsafe to draw any conclusion from this. Most of the Bigods, including Roger above-named, were buried at the Cluniac Priory of Thetford, Norfolk, which was founded by one of them. Thomas Le Bigod became prior in 1304. He was the first prior who was confirmed by the Bishop of Norwich, and it is tempting to connect him with the monk who appears in so many initials.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Add. 19182.



his M<sup>re</sup> who untimely loosing her life, retired himself home to this towne wher he spent the rest of his own privately and loyally all the rayne of Queen Elisabeth her sister and dyed here the second yeere of King James the 26<sup>th</sup> of December 1604 in the 86 yeere of his age."

The descendants  
of Sir Thomas  
Cornwallis

Sir Thomas Cornwallis married Anne, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir John Jerningham,<sup>1</sup> of Somerleyton, Suffolk, by whom he had two sons and four daughters. To his son and heir, Sir William Cornwallis, the Psalter doubtless passed, and continued in the Cornwallis family until the death, without male issue, of Charles the second Marquis Cornwallis on 9th of August, 1823, when it was given by his five daughters to the Hon. Richard Aldworth-Neville, who had married the eldest daughter in 1819, and who succeeded his father in 1825 as third Baron Braybrooke.

This gift is attested on a fly-leaf at the beginning in the following terms :

"This Missal originally the property of Sir Thomas Cornwalleys from whom it descended to the Daughters and Coheirresses of Charles 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis Cornwallis was by them presented to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Richard Neville as a token of their regard and affection 1823.

Jane Neville.  
Louisa Cornwallis.  
Jemima Cornwallis.  
Mary Cornwallis.  
Elizabeth Cornwallis."

From the above-named Richard Neville it passed by direct succession to the sixth Baron Braybrooke of Audley End, Essex, from whom the present owner acquired it in 1904.

The present  
binding

It was at some period after 1794, and before 1823, that the present binding of brown russia with blind tooling over bevelled boards was put on. The first date is fixed by a water mark in the end papers, and the second by the above inscription. It is idle to conjecture what kind of binding was stripped off, or what evidence of the book's wanderings may have been destroyed with the old fly-leaves. Happily the edges, which were gilt at this rebinding, were left uncropped. The back is simply, but incorrectly, lettered *MISSAL*. In the beginning is the armorial bookplate of Marquis Cornwallis.

Contents

The Gorleston Psalter consists of 228 leaves, measuring 14 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. by 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  in., with 16 lines to the page. There are twenty-nine gatherings, all originally of eight except the first and last, which are of six. An inserted leaf, on which is painted the Crucifixion, follows the first section. One leaf is lacking. It contained the last four verses of Psalm 22, and the whole of Psalm 23, and should come between ff. 31 and 32. The contents are as follows :

Sarum Kalendar in vermillion, lake, blue and gold	f. 1
Full-page Crucifixion	7

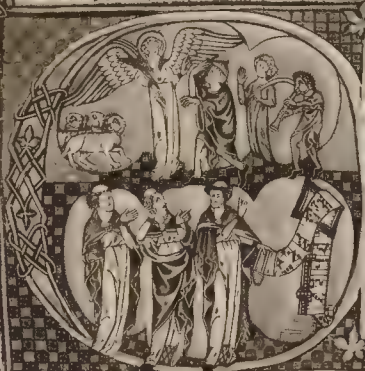
<sup>1</sup> The Manor of Gorleston was granted by Henry VIII to Sir Henry Jerningham (Suckling's *History of Suffolk*, i, 367). It is possible that the Gorleston Psalter came from the Jerningham family to that of Cornwallis. Somerleyton is about six miles from Gorleston.

**Q**m tu dñs altissimus sc̃i c̃m t̃am:  
nimis exaltatus es sup omnes deos.

**Q**ui diligitis dñm odite malum:  
custodit dñs aīas sc̃oꝝ suoꝝ de ma-  
nu peccōis liberabit eos.

**E**xalta est iusto: et rectis corde leticia.

**E**t amini iusti in domino: et cōfite-  
mini memorie sc̃ificationis eius.



**A**ntate do-  
mino canti-  
cum nouū:  
quia mira-  
bilis fecit.

**S**aluauit  
sibi dextam eius: et brachium sc̃m ei.

**N**otum fecit dñs salutare suū: in







Prayer before Psalter: <i>Suscipere dignare dne . . hos</i>	
<i>psalmos quos ego indignus peccator</i>	7b
Psalter	8
Canticles	190b
Athanasian Creed	206
Litany	208b
Collects	214
Office of the Dead	215
Prayers: <i>Deus in cuius direccione cuncta sunt posita</i>	223b
<i>Salvator mundi saluum me fac</i>	224
<i>Veniam peto coram te dne</i>	225
Hymn: <i>Deus homo fili dei</i>	225b
Original book ends	226
Norwich Litany, added subsequently	226b

*Kalendar.* This is of the Sarum type of the beginning of the fourteenth century, and is in close agreement with the *Kalendars of the Douai Psalter and Stowe 12*. Two entries (Mary of Egypt April 2, Erkenwald April 30) are marked *non Sarum*, and are absent from these latter *Kalendars*. Except that of the Dedication of Gorleston Church, March 8, they have no other significant omissions, though a few names are crowded out of the Douai Psalter, the measure of the page being a very narrow one. On the other hand, both the Douai Psalter and Stowe 12 add Richard of Chichester, *ix l.* on April 3; his translation, *ix l.* on June 16; Cuthburga, *ij l.* on August 31; and Thomas of Hereford, *ix l.* on October 2. These additions are noteworthy and imply a slightly later date for these two books. Stowe 12 has a few entries which are not in the Gorleston or Douai Psalters, namely, Edward the Confessor, January 5; Wynewaleus *non Sarum* (St. Guenael a Breton saint; there was an alien priory dedicated to him at Wereham, Norfolk), March 3; Felix (the Apostle of East Anglia) *non Sarum*, March 8; Anne *non Sarum*, July 26; the Sarum Feast of Relics, September 15; and Birin of Dorchester, *ix l. sec. Sarum*, December 3; while Botulph, June 17, Dominic, August 5, and Francis, October 4, are marked as *non Sarum*. In the following copy of the *Kalendar of the Gorleston Psalter* all differences in the companion *Kalendars* are indicated in the footnotes.<sup>1</sup>

*Sarum Kalendars of Gorleston and Douai Psalters and of Stowe 12*

Each month occupies a page. The entries are in burnished gold, blue, carmine, and vermilion, no black being used. In the Douai Psalter and Stowe 12 they are in blue, carmine, and vermilion. The feasts are divided into (1) *Maius duplex*, (2) *Duplex festum*, (3) Feasts of nine lessons, (4) Feasts of three lessons *cum Nocturno*, (5) Feasts of three lessons, (6) *Memoria tantum*. The word *pape* is erased and also the three entries relating to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The grading of the Feasts

<sup>1</sup> The *Kalendar of the St. Omer Psalter*, being, like the Litany, an addition of the fifteenth century, does not offer a parallel.

Kalendar *Prima dies mensis et septima truncat ut ensis.*

JAN. 1	Circumcisio Domini, <i>Duplex festum.</i>
2	Oct. s. Stephani, <i>ijj l.</i>
3	Oct. s. Johannis ep. et ev., <i>ijj l.</i>
4	Oct. s. Innocencium, <i>ijj l.</i>
5	Oct. s. Thome m. (erased), <i>memoria tantum,<sup>1</sup> et si in dominica medie l.</i>
6	Epiphania Domini, <i>maius duplex.</i>
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	Oct. epiphanie, <i>ix l.</i> Hyllarii ep. <i>medie l.</i>
14	Felices ep. et c., <i>ijj l.</i>
15	Mauri ab., <i>ijj l.</i>
16	Marcelli p. et m., <i>ijj l.</i>
17	Sulpicii ep. et c., <i>ijj l.</i>
18	Prisce v. et m., <i>ijj l.</i> <i>Prima lxx.</i>
19	Wulstani ep. et c., <i>ix l.</i>
20	Fabiani et Sebastiani m., <i>ix l.</i>
21	Agnētis v., <i>ix l.</i>
22	Vincencii m., <i>ix l.</i>
23	
24	
25	Conversio s. Pauli, <i>ix l.</i> Prejeſti m., <i>Mem.<sup>2</sup></i>
26	
27	Juliani ep. et c. <i>Invit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
28	Agnētis secundo. <i>Invit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
29	
30	Batildis regine, <i>ijj l.</i>
31	

<sup>1</sup> *ijj l.* in Douai Psalter. Stowe 12 adds Edwardi regis et c.

<sup>2</sup> Douai Psalter omits Prejeſti.

*Primus mandentem consumit<sup>1</sup> quarta bibentem.*

MAR. 1	
2	
3 <sup>2</sup>	
4	
5	
6	
7	Perpetue et felicitatis, <i>ijj l.</i>
8	Dedicacio ecclesie de Gorlestone, <i>maius duplex.<sup>3</sup></i>
9	
10	
11	
12	Gregorii pape, <i>ix l.</i>
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	
18	Edwardi r. et m., <i>ix l.</i>
19	
20	Cuthberti ep., <i>ix l.</i>
21	Benedicti ab., <i>ix l.</i>
22	
23	
24	
25	Annunciacio beate marie, <i>Duplex festum.</i>
26	
27	Resurrectio Domini.
28	
29	
30	
31	

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes *dirumpit.*

<sup>2</sup> Stowe 12 gives Wynewalci non Sarum.

<sup>3</sup> Stowe 12 has Felices ep. et c. non Sarum. He was the Apostle of East Anglia, and is in the Kalendars of the Ormesby and Tenison Psalters.

*Quarta subitū mortem prosternit tertia fortem.*

FEB. 1	Brigide v., <i>ijj l.</i>
2	Purificacio b. Marie, <i>maius duplex.</i>
3	Blasii ep. et m. <i>Invit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
4	
5	Agathe v., <i>ix l.</i>
6	Vedasti et Amandi, <i>ijj l.</i>
7	
8	
9	
10	Scolastice v., <i>ijj l.</i>
11	
12	
13	
14	Valentini m., <i>ijj l.</i>
15	
16	Juliane v. <i>Invit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	Cathedra s. Petri, <i>ix l.</i>
23	
24	Mathie ap. <i>Locus bisexti. Quum bisextus fuerit festum s. Mathie fiat quarta die a Cathedra s. Petri.</i>
25	
26	
27	
28	

*Ultima lxx.*

*Denus et undenus est mortis vulnere plenus.*

APR. 1	
2	Marie egypciace, <sup>1</sup> <i>non est Sarum.</i>
3 <sup>2</sup>	
4	Ambrosii ep., <i>ix l.</i> Si ante passionem evenerit.
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	Tyburcii et Valeriani, <i>ijj l.</i>
15	Claves rogationum.
16	
17	
18	
19	Ælphégi archiep. et m., <i>ijj l.</i>
20	
21	
22	
23	Georgii m., <i>ijj l.</i> <i>Chorus regitur.</i>
24	
25	Marci evangeliste. <i>Letania maior.</i>
26	
27	
28	Vitalis m. <i>Invit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
29	Claves pentecostes.
30	Erkenwoldi ep. <sup>1</sup> <i>non est Sarum.</i>

<sup>1</sup> These two non-Sarum entries appear without the number of lessons in the Douai Psalter also, Stowe 12 omits them.

<sup>2</sup> The Douai Psalter and Stowe 12 give Ricardi ep. et c., *ix l.* Comp. June 16.

*Tercius occidit et septimus ora relidit.*

MAY	1	Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi.
	2	
	3	Invenio s. crucis, <i>Duplex festum. memoria de martyribus</i> [Alexandro, Eventio et Theodolo].
	4	
	5	
	6	Johannis ante portam latinam, <i>ijj l. cum regimine chori.</i>
	7	
	8	
	9	
10		Gordiani et Epimachi m., <i>ijj l.</i>
11		
12		Nerei et Achillei atque Pancracii m., <i>ijj l.</i>
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		Dunstani archiep. Potenciane v. <sup>1</sup> <i>Chorus regitur.</i>
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		Aldelmi ep. et c., <i>ix l. media lectio de s. Urbano.</i> <sup>1</sup>
26		Augustini primi Anglorum ep., <i>ix l.</i>
27		
28		Germani ep. et c., <i>ijj l.</i>
29		
30		
31		Petronille v., <i>ijj l. cum Nocturno.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Douai Psalter omits Potenciane and media l. de s. Urbano.

*Tredecimus maculat julii decimus labefaciat.*

JULY	1	Oct. s. Johannis baptiste, <i>ijj l.</i>
	2	Processi et Martiniani m. et Swithuni. <sup>1</sup>
	3	
	4	Trans. s. Martini, <i>ix l.</i>
	5	
	6	Oct. ap. Petri et Pauli, <i>ix l.</i>
	7	Trans. s. Thome m. Cant. archiep. (erased), <i>ix l.</i> <sup>2</sup>
	8	
	9	
10		vij fratrum. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
11		Trans. s. Benedicte, <i>ix l. si infra passionem.</i>
12		
13		
14		<i>Dies caniculares incipiunt.</i>
15		Trans. s. Swithuni ep. soc. que eius conf., <i>ix l.</i>
16		
17		Kenelmi regis et m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
18		Arnulphi ep. et m., <i>ijj l.</i>
19		
20		Margarete v., <i>ix l.</i>
21		Praxedis v., <i>ijj l.</i>
22		Marie Magdalene, <i>ix l. Wandregesili ab.</i>
23		Appollinaris m., <i>ijj l.</i>
24		Cristine v. et m., <i>ijj l. Vigilia.</i>
25		Jacobi ap., <i>ix l. Memoria de s. Christoforo et Cucufate.</i> <sup>3</sup>
26 <sup>4</sup>		
27		vij dormientium. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
28		Sampsonis ep. et c. et Pantaleonis. <sup>5</sup> <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
29		Felcis Simplicii Faustine et Beatricis. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
30		Abdon et Sennen. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
31		Germani ep. et c., <i>ijj l.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Douai Psalter omits Swithuni.

<sup>2</sup> *ijj l.* in Douai Psalter.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted from Douai Psalter.

<sup>4</sup> Stowe 12 has Anne matris s. Marie non Sarum.

*Denus pallescit quindenus federa nescit.*

Kalendar

JUNE	1	Nichomedis m., <i>ijj l.</i>
	2	Marcellini et Petri. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	3	<i>Ultimus dies ascensionis.</i>
	4	
	5	Bonifacii ep. et m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	6	
	7	
	8	Medardi et Gildardi ep., <i>ijj l.</i>
	9	Primi et Feliciani m., <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	10	
	11	Barnabe ap., <i>ix l.</i>
	12	Basilidis, Cirini, Naboris et Nazarii, <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	13	<i>Ultimum pentecostes.</i>
	14	Basilii ep., <i>ijj l.</i>
	15	Viti et Modesti, <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	16	Cirici et Julitte, <i>ijj l.</i> <sup>1</sup>
	17	Botulphi ab., <i>ix l.</i> <sup>2</sup>
	18	Marci et Marcelliani, <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	19	Gervasii et Prothasii. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	20	Trans. s. Edwardi, <i>ix l.</i>
	21	
	22	Albani m., <i>ix l.</i>
	23	Etheldrede v., <i>ijj l. Vigilia.</i>
	24	Nativitas s. Johannis bapt., <i>Duplex festum.</i>
	25	
	26	Johannis et Pauli. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	27	
	28	Leonis pape, <i>ijj l. Vigilia.</i>
	29	Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, <i>Duplex festum.</i> <sup>3</sup>
	30	Commemoracio s. Pauli, <i>ix l.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Trans. s. Ricardi, *ix l.* in Douai Psalter and Stowe 12. Comp. April 3.

<sup>2</sup> Stowe 12 adds non Sarum.

<sup>3</sup> *ix l.* in Douai Psalter.

*Prima necat fortem perditque<sup>1</sup> secunda cohortem.*

AUG.	1	Ad vincula s. Petri. Memoria de Mac-habeis.
	2	Stephani pape et m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	3	Invenio s. Stephani, <i>ix l.</i>
	4	
	5	Oswaldi reg. et m., <i>ix l. Dominici c.</i> <sup>2</sup>
	6	Sixti Felicissimi et Agapiti m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	7	Donati ep. et m., <i>ijj l.</i>
	8	Cyriaci soc. que eius m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	9	Romani m., <i>ijj l. cum Nocturno. Vigilia.</i>
	10	Laurentii m., <i>ix l.</i>
	11	Tyburcii m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	12	
	13	Ypoliti soc. que eius. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	14	Eusebii conf. <i>Vigilia.</i>
	15	Assumpcio beate Marie v., <i>maius duplex.</i>
	16	
	17	Oct. s. Laurentii, <i>memoria tantum.</i>
	18	Agapiti m., <i>mem. im.</i>
	19	Magni m., <i>mem. im.</i>
	20	
	21	
	22	Oct. b. Marie, <i>ix l. Thymothei et Simphoriani.</i> <sup>3</sup>
	23	Thimothei et Appollinaris. <i>Vigilia.</i>
	24	Bartholomei ap. Audoeni ep. <sup>4</sup>
	25	
	26	
	27	Ruphi m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
	28	Augustini doctoris. Heremite m. [for Hermetis] <sup>5</sup>
	29	Decollatio s. Johannis bapt. Sabine v. <i>Inuit. dupl.</i> <sup>6</sup>
	30	Felcis et Adaucti m., <i>ijj l.</i>
	31 <sup>5</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> Usually *sternitque*.

<sup>2</sup> Stowe 12 adds non Sarum.

<sup>3</sup> Thymothei et Simphoriani omitted by Douai Psalter.

<sup>4</sup> The Douai Psalter and Stowe 12 omit Audoeni Hermetis and Sabine.

<sup>5</sup> The Douai Psalter, Stowe 12 and Arundel 83, 1 and 2, insert Cuthburge v.



Kalendar *Tercia septembris et denus fert mala membris.*

SEPT. 1	Egidii ab. et Prisci m., <i>ix l.</i> <sup>1</sup>
2	
3	
4	Trans. s. Cuthberti, <i>ix l. nisi fuerit in xl. Inuit. dupl.</i>
5	Bertini ab., <i>ijj l. cum No.</i>
6	
7	Nativitas b. Marie v., <i>Duplex festum.</i>
8	Gorgonii m., <i>Mem. tantum.</i>
10	
11	Prothi et Iacynthi m., <i>Mem.</i>
12	
13	
14	Exaltacio s. Crucis, <i>ix l. medie l. de s. Cornelio et Cypriano.</i> <sup>2</sup>
15	Oct. s. Marie v. <sup>3</sup>
16	Edithe et Eufemie v., <i>ix l.</i> <sup>1</sup>
17	Lamberti ep. et m., <i>ijj l.</i>
18	
19	
20	<i>Vigilia.</i>
21	Mathei ap. et ev. Laudi. <sup>4</sup>
22	Mauricii sociorumque eius, <i>ijj l.</i>
23	Tecle v., <i>ijj l. cum No.</i>
24	
25	Firmini ep. et m., <i>ijj l.</i>
26	Cypriani ep. et Justine v. et m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i> <sup>1</sup>
27	Cosme et Damiani m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
28	
29	Michaelis archangeli, <i>Duplex festum.</i>
30	Jeronimi presb. et conf., <i>ix l.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Prisci, Eufemie et Justine omitted by Douai Psalter.

<sup>2</sup> Corn. et Cypr. omitted by Douai Psalter and Stowe 12.

<sup>3</sup> Stowe 12 and Arundel 83, 1 and 2, give the Sarum Feast of Relics on Sept. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Laudi is not in the Douai Psalter, but is in Stowe 12 and Arundel 83, Part 1.

*Scorpius est quintus et tercius est nece cinctus.*

Nov. 1	Festivitas omnium sanctorum, <i>maius dupl.</i>
2	Commemoracio animarum. Eustacii soc. que eius. <sup>1</sup>
3	
4	
5	
6	Leonardi c., <i>ix l.</i>
7	
8	iiij coronatorum m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
9	Theodori m., <i>ijj l.</i>
10	
11	Martini ep. et c., <i>ix l. Menne m.</i> <sup>1</sup>
12	
13	Bricii ep. et c. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
14	
15	Machuti ep. et c., <i>ix l. et Martini.</i> <sup>2</sup>
16	Edmundi cant. archiep., <i>ix l.</i>
17	Aniani ep. et c., <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
18	Oct. s. Martini. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
19	
20	Edmundi reg. et m., <i>ix l.</i>
21	
22	Cecilie v., <i>ix l.</i>
23	Clementis pape, <i>ix l. Felicitatis m.</i> <sup>3</sup>
24	Grisogoni m., <i>ijj l.</i>
25	Katerine v., <i>ix l.</i>
26	Lini pape et m., <i>ijj l.</i>
27	
28	
29	Saturnini ep. et m., <i>ijj l. cum No. Vigilia.</i>
30	Andree ap., <i>Duplex festum.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Eustacii and Menne omitted by Douai Psalter.

<sup>2</sup> Martini in Arundel 83, 1 and 2, but omitted from Douai Psalter and Stowe 12.

<sup>3</sup> Felicitatis in Stowe 12 and Ormesby Psalter, but not in Douai Psalter or Arundel 83.

*Tercius et denus est sicut mors alienus.*

Oct. 1	Germani Remigii et Vedasti, <i>ix l.</i>
2	Leodegarii ep. et m., <i>ijj l.</i> <sup>1</sup>
3	
4	Francisci c., <i>ix l.</i> <sup>2</sup>
5	
6	Fidis v., <i>ijj l.</i>
7	Marci pape, Marcelli et Apulei. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
8	
9	Dyonisii Rustici et Eleutherii, <i>ix l.</i>
10	Gereonis soc.que eius m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
11	Nigasii soc.que eius m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
12	
13	Trans. s. Edwardi regis et c., <i>ix l.</i>
14	Kalixti pape. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
15	Wulfranni ep. et c., <i>ix l.</i>
16	Dedicacio Michaelis in Monte tumba, <i>ix l.</i>
17	
18	Luce ev., <i>ix l. et Justi m.</i> <sup>3</sup>
19	
20	
21	xi milia virginum. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
22	
23	Romani ep., <i>ijj l. cum Nocturno.</i>
24	
25	Crispini et Crispiniani m. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
26	
27	
28	Symonis et Jude, <i>ix l.</i>
29	
30	
31	Quintini m., <i>ijj l. cum No. Vigilia.</i>

<sup>1</sup> The Douai Psalter and Stowe 12 substitute Thome ep. et c. (of Hereford, canonised 1320).

<sup>2</sup> Stowe 12 adds non Sarum.

<sup>3</sup> Justi omitted by Douai Psalter and Stowe 12.

*Septimus ex[s] anguis virosus denus ut anguis.*

DEC. 1	
2	
3	<sup>1</sup>
4	
5	
6	Nicholai ep. et c., <i>ix l.</i>
7	Oct. s. Andree ap. <i>Inuit. dupl. ijj l.</i>
8	Concepcio beate Marie. <i>Nichil Sarum.</i> <sup>2</sup>
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	Lucie v., <i>ix l.</i>
14	
15	
16	<i>O sapiensia. Nulle preces deinceps ad vespas.</i>
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	Thome ap., <i>ix l.</i>
22	
23	
24	<i>Vigilia.</i>
25	Nativitas dni nri ihu xpi, <i>maius duplex.</i>
26	Stephani prothomartyris, <i>Duplex festum.</i>
27	Johannis ap. et ev., <i>Duplex festum.</i>
28	Innocencium, <i>Duplex festum.</i>
29	Thome martyris (erased), <i>Duplex festum.</i>
30	
31	Silvestri pape, <i>ix l.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Birini ep. et c., *ix l. etc. Sarum* in Stowe 12, but not in Douai Psalter.

<sup>2</sup> In the Douai Psalter this is given as a feast of nine lessons, and here the entry is in gold. *Nichil Sarum* seems to be an error.

**L**audate eum in sono tube: lau-  
date eum in psaltio ⁊ cythara.

**L**audate eum in tympano ⁊ choro:

**L**audate eum in cordis ⁊ organo.

**L**audate eum in cymblis bñso-  
nantib: laudate eum in cymbalis  
iubilacois: oīs sps laudet dñm.



**C**onfitebor tñe  
qm̃ iratus es m̃:  
conuſus est furor  
tuus ⁊ consolatus  
es me.

**E**cce deus saluator n̄s: fiducia  
teragam ⁊ non timebo.

**Q**uia fortitudo mea ⁊ laus mea dñ:  
⁊ factus est michi in salutem.



*Mauricius aq̃s in gaudio*





*Original Litany* (f. 208b). The Martyrs, Confessors (see Plate VIII), and Virgins are as follows:

Litany of  
Gorleston and  
Douai Psalters  
compared

Stephane, Sixte, Clemens, Corneli, Cipriane, Laurenti, Vincenti, Dyonisi cum sociis tuis, Maurici cum sociis tuis, Eustachi cum sociis tuis, Fabiane, Sebastiane, Gervasi, Prothasi, Christofore, Georgi, Edmunde, Thoma (erased), Quintine, Omnes sancti martyres.

Nicholae, Silvester, Hylari, Martine, Brici, Gregori, Ambrosi, Jeronime, Augustine, Wulstane, Germane, Cuthberte, Benedicte, Leonarde, Dunstane, Omnes sancti confessores.

Maria Magdalene, Maria Egypciaca, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Agnes, Cecilia, Lucia, Scolastica, Katerina, Margareta, Anna, Petronilla, Cristina, Helena, Fides, Spes, Caritas, Etheldreda, Omnes sancte virgines.

These may be compared with the corresponding sections in the Douai Psalter, which are as follows:

Stephane, Line, Clete, Clemens, Sixte, Corneli, Cypriane, Thoma, Laurenti, Vincenti, Georgi, Fabiane, Sebastiane, Dyonisi cum sociis tuis, Maurici c. s. t., Eustachii c. s. t., Hypolite c. s. t., Albane, Aelphege, Eadmunde, Eadwarde, Oswalde, Kenelme, Omnes sancti martyres.

Silvester, Gregori, Hyllari, Martine, Ambrosi, Augustine, Nicholae, Dunstane, Augustine c. s. t., Eadmunde, Eadwarde, Cuthberte, Botulphe, Jeronime, Benedicte, Leonarde, Egidi, Aldelme, Germane, Macute, Swithune, Omnes sancti confessores.

Maria Magdalene, Maria Egypciaca, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Agnes, Cecilia, Lucia, Scolastica, Juliana, Katerina, Margareta, Cristina, Fides, Spes, Karitas, Sapiencia, Brigida, Helena, Ositha, Etheldreda, Editha, Omnes sancte virgines.

It will be seen that though the Kalendars of the two books are practically identical, there is a considerable difference in the Litanies, that of the Douai Psalter containing more English saints than the other. Nor are the differences confined to the list of saints invoked. The subsequent series of petitions are also different in many respects. The following are found in the Gorleston Psalter only:

A damnacione perpetua, Ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis, Ab infestacionibus demonum, Ab immundis cogitacionibus, A subitanea et eterna morte: Per nativitatem tuam, Per circumcisionem tuam, Per sanctum ieiunium tuum:

Ut misericordia et pietas tua nos custodiat, Ut regibus et principibus nostris, etc., Ut episcopos et abbates nostros et omnes, etc., Ut congregaciones omnium sanctorum in tuo sancto servicio conservare digneris, Ut oculos misericordie tue super nos reducere digneris, Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis requiem eternam dones;

Esto nobis domine turris fortitudinis a facie inimici, Memor esto congregacionis tue quam possedisti ab initio, Domine saluum fac regem et exaudi nos die qua invocaverimus[te].

On the other hand, the following petitions are in the Douai Psalter, and not in the Gorleston Psalter:

A peste superbie, A carnalibus desideriis, Ab ira et odio et omni mala voluntate;

Ut regi nostro et principibus nostris, etc., Ut miseras pauperum et captivorum tueri et relevare digneris, Ut remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum nobis donare digneris:\*

Ostende nobis domine miseriam tuam et salutare tuum da nobis, Peccavimus domine cum patribus nostris, Iniuste egimus iniquitatem fecimus, Domine non secundum peccata nostra Neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribue nobis: Oremus pro omni gradu ecclesie,

\* Up to the end of this section of the Litany, the versicles in Stowe 12 are in complete agreement with the Douai Psalter, those given in the first two sections above as peculiar to the Gorleston Psalter being omitted. In the last section Stowe 12 has something in common with both books, without being identical with either.

Pro fratribus et sororibus nostris absentibus, Pro cuncto populo Cristiano, Saluum fac populum tuum domine et benedic hereditati tue et rege eos et extolle eos. Anime famulorum famularumque tuarum requiescant in pace.

Collects

*Collects* (f. 214). In the Gorleston Psalter these are *Deus cui proprium*, *Omnipotens sempiternus deus qui facis*, *Pretende domine famulis et famulabus tuis dexteram*, *Ure igne* and *Deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor*.

In the Douai Psalter they are *Deus cui proprium*, *Omn. semp. deus qui facis*, *Deus qui caritatis dona*, *Deus a quo sancta desideria*, *Ineffabilem misericordiam*, *Fidelium deus omnium conditor*, *Pietate tua quesumus domine*. The latter series is that of 2 B. 1 (a selection of Psalms that belonged to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester) at the British Museum, and of other Sarum books. Stowe 12 (f. 218) omits the fifth of these collects.

*Other Collects* (f. 224). After the Office of the Dead, but unconnected with it, are three long prayers, *Deus in cuius direccione . . . vivis et regnas deus per omnia*, *Salvator mundi saluum me fac . . . qui cum deo patre et spiritu sancto*, etc., *Veniam peto coram te . . . largitor admitte qui cum*, etc., and another in verse on f. 225b, ending the original book, as follows:

Deus homo fili dei	Contra vires huius anguis
Fons et forma nostre spei	Assit mihi tuus sanguis
Qui venisti pro me mori	Sudor tuus et dolores
Tuis plagis et cruori	Pena crucis et labores
Tue cruci passioni	Qua munitus armatura
Mortis resurrectioni	Liber fiam a lesura
Me commendo quamvis reum	Depulsoque seductore
Serva corpus et cor meum.	Iuste vivam te ductore
	Per Christum dnm nrm. Amen.
Ne me vincat hostis ille	
Qui me temptat modis mille	
Cuius fraudes et conatus	
Frangant tui cruciatus	

Norwich Litany  
added

*Added Norwich Litany*. Four of the five blank pages that remained are occupied by a Norwich Litany in double columns of 32 lines, added in a poor hand later in the fourteenth century. The martyrs end Albane, Oswalde, Edmund, Aelphege, Thoma, Blasi, Willelme II, the confessors end Neote, and the last three virgins are Etheldreda, Mildreda, Osida. Peter, Benedict and Anne are, like William of Norwich, twice invoked. The collects are (1) *Deus cui proprium*, (2) *Mentem famuli tui episcopi nostri*, (3) *Omn. semp. deus qui facis mirabilia*, (4) *Pretende dne famulis et famulabus*, (5) *Ure igne*, (6) *Acciones nostras quesumus dne aspirando*, (7) *Adesto dne supplicationibus*, (8) *Ecclesie tue quesumus dne preces placatus*, (9) *A domo tua*, (10) *Deus a quo*, (11) *Deus qui inter apostolicos*, (12) *Animabus ques. dne famulorum famularumque*, (13) *Hostium nostrorum quesumus dne elide superbiam*, (14) *Deus qui misericordie tue potenti auxilio*, (15) *Deus qui es sanctorum*.



O mnes sancti martyres orate p n.  
c̃ Nicholae or.  
c̃ Siluester or.  
c̃ hylari or.  
c̃ Martine or.  
c̃ brici or.  
c̃ Gregori or.  
c̃ Ambrosi or.  
c̃ Jeronime or.  
c̃ Augustine or.  
c̃ Vistane or.  
c̃ Germane or.  
c̃ Cuthberte or.  
c̃ Benedicte or.  
c̃ Leonarde or.  
c̃ Dunstane or.







As stated on p. 5, this is precisely similar to a Norwich Litany, added c. 1330, in the Ormesby Psalter, except that the thirteenth and fourteenth collects are there omitted.

The history and liturgical character of the Gorleston Psalter having now been dealt with, the remainder of this notice will be devoted to its artistic contents:

WRITING. The writing is large and regular. It has not yet reached <sup>Writing</sup> the formal and perpendicular stage towards which it is tending, and it therefore retains something of the flexibility of thirteenth-century calligraphy. The written page is full of dignity, the ink a little inclined to be brown. A correction on f. 19<sup>b</sup> is made in very black ink, and there is a decided contrast between it and the adjacent text. The lines are ruled with carmine ink.<sup>1</sup> The catchwords at the ends of the sections, like those in the Douai Psalter and Stowe 12, are in a charter hand. Most of the sections are numbered in rough Roman numerals.

The writing in the Douai and St. Omer Psalters is of the same character but more compressed. In the latter the t usually rises above the line, which is not the case in this book. In the Douai Psalter there are sixteen lines to the page (as in this book), in the St. Omer Psalter eighteen.

VERSE-INITIALS. These are rather more than the space of a full <sup>Verse-initials</sup> line in height. They are all of the same character, and apparently by the same hand. Each letter is in burnished gold on an irregular panel which is partly blue and partly pink and projects slightly into the margin. If the upper part of the panel is pink and the lower part blue, then the upper part of the interior of the letter is blue and the lower part pink, and vice versa. The coloured ground both within and without the letters is relieved with white lines, and in the interiors of the letters these lines usually form a lace-like mesh, leaving bare the blue and pink ground in patterns of well-designed foliage. The verse-initials in the Douai<sup>2</sup> and St. Omer Psalters are for the most part similarly filled with white lace-work, which is a common feature in English fourteenth-century manuscripts, but in both these books the burnished gold of the initials is dotted, whereas in the Gorleston Psalter it is distinguished from all the other burnished gold surfaces throughout the volume by being left plain.

<sup>Lace-work  
fillings</sup>

The fillings that are not of lace-work are usually white lines and circles or sprays of white foliage, occasionally a fleur-de-lis, less commonly a rampant lion (ff. 23, 42, 42<sup>b</sup>, 47<sup>b</sup>, 61<sup>b</sup>, 89<sup>b</sup>), or a spread eagle (ff. 42, 42<sup>b</sup>, 47<sup>b</sup>).

On the pages on which there is not the beginning of a psalm the verse-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Stowe 12, and Barlow 22 at the Bodleian Library, both already referred to. Carmine ruling is common in later books.

<sup>2</sup> In the Douai Psalter the colours inside the initials are usually quartered, instead of being in two horizontal strips. All the minor initials in Stowe 12 are blue with red lace-work. This is a definite style of penwork, seldom or never found in Continental manuscripts.

initials are united by a thin stem of the same colours as the initial-backgrounds, which runs down, as it were behind the initials, close to the text, and usually throws off branches in the upper and lower margins as a support for various drolleries. There is a similar treatment in the Douai Psalter.<sup>1</sup> On the pages on which a psalm begins, the verse-initials are isolated, being independent of the bar of ornament connected with the psalm-initial and without any connecting stem of their own. In the Litany, and in Psalm 135 (f. 176) the backgrounds of the letters are joined. It is only there that they come together without an intervening line of text.

Thirteen  
bordered pages  
with great historiated initials

#### GREAT HISTORIATED INITIALS WITH FULL BORDERS.

Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, and 97, being the first Psalms of the Office of Matins of the seven days of the week, and Psalm 109, the first of Sunday vespers, are as usual marked by great initials, in each case with a full-page border. Psalms 51 (*Quid gloriaris*) and 101 (*Domine exaudi*), beginning the second and the concluding third of the Psalter, are similarly treated, as well as Psalm 119 (*Ad dominum cum tribularer*, the first of the Gradual Psalms), which is much less frequently selected for special decoration. Besides these eleven Psalms, the first canticle (*Confitebor*) and the Vespers of the Dead (*Placebo*) have also large initials and borders, bringing the number of fully-bordered pages to thirteen.

Of these bordered pages the first (*Beatus vir*) is naturally by far the most elaborate. It is indeed the chief glory of the volume, a work of art of astonishing richness and beauty. The great B is 5½ inches high, without counting its frame of the arms of England and France. It is filled with a Jesse-tree comprising thirty-one figures, in which are included two censuring angels, a Virgin and Child, a Crucifixion, and a Christ as Judge; while a broad border to the whole page, connected with the B and carrying on the idea of a Jesse-tree, incloses on its upper, outer, and inner sides fifteen figures of kings and prophets, and on its lower side pictures of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple, with accessories which will be described when the page is dealt with in greater detail. These subjects, like the Jesse-tree itself, are a survival of the series of pictures that in early Psalters commonly preceded the text.<sup>2</sup> The Jesse-tree is a filling of the B which seems peculiar to English Psalters.<sup>3</sup> In many Continental Psalters David and Goliath are represented

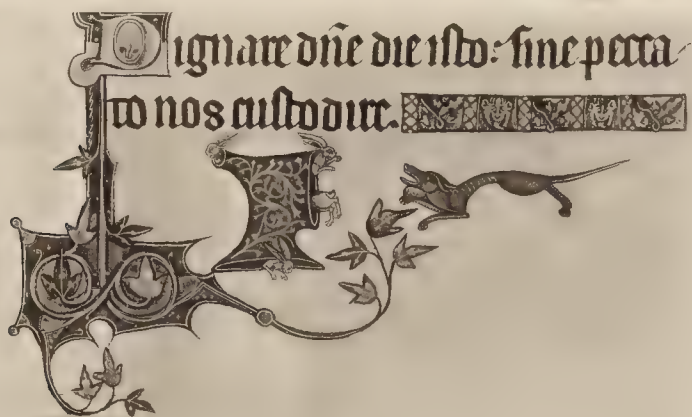
See pp. 33-35

<sup>1</sup> This connecting of the verse initials is first seen, rather differently treated, in the Duke of Rutland's Psalter (see New Palaeographical Society, plates 64, 66), c. 1260, and next on some pages (e.g., the versos of ff. 74-80) of the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels, and of the Ormesby Psalter at Oxford (ff. 154-165), and in the Psalter of John Rowham at Lambeth, all three c. 1300.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., in the incomparable Psalter of Ingeburg of Denmark at Chantilly, one of the opening pictures of which is a magnificent Jesse-tree. It begins the New Testament series, as it does also in a Psalter said to have belonged to St. Louis, MS. 1186 at the Arsenal Library, Paris (see Delisle, *Douze livres royaux*, pp. 1-17, 27).

<sup>3</sup> The earliest examples I have seen are in the Huntingfield Psalter, a book of the last quarter of the twelfth century, belonging to Mr. Pierpont Morgan, and in a fragment of a London Psalter, 252 at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, of about the same date. In the large Psalters of the beginning of the fourteenth century it is commonly met with, as well as in some of their immediate predecessors, e.g.,







in the B. In this one Goliath is shown in the margin outside the stem of the B, and again at the foot of the page where he lies clasping a long spear while David slings a stone at him. There are five lines of text below the B, which is therefore eleven lines in height.

The other twelve great initials are from five to seven lines high, and in the borders connected with them the figures are insignificant and quite subsidiary to various decorative features, which in the Beatus page are subordinate to the figures. The shields of arms with which, like nearly all the sumptuous East Anglian books of the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Gorleston Psalter is enriched, occur on these bordered pages, and must now be described.

*Heraldic Decoration and Shields of Arms.* These may have been the arms of benefactors of the place (though the shields of Bacon and other recorded benefactors are absent), but were more probably merely those of prominent barons of the day. The arms of (1) England and (2) France form a border to the great Crucifixion on f. 7<sup>v</sup> as well as to the B of the first Psalm, on f. 8. On ff. 35 and 68b they occur again on shields. The other shields of arms, forming, with one exception, part of the decoration of the bordered pages, are as follows:

- F. 68b (3) *Chequy azure and or.* Warenne.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps for John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey and Sussex, who succeeded his father William de Warenne in 1305 and lived till 1347.
- (4) *Per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules.* This shield, which has already been discussed as occurring near a figure of an elderly layman in an initial on f. 70b, was borne by Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, who died 11th December, 1306, without issue. It is also said to have been that of the Cluniac Priory of Thetford, Norfolk, which was founded by a Bigod, and of which Thomas Le Bigod became Prior in 1304. The Bigods also bore *or, a cross gules.*
- F. 69 (5) *Az. a cross patonce between five martlets or.* Edward the Confessor.
- (6) *Gules, a cross argent between four leopards' heads or.* I

in the Ormesby Psalter, the Lambeth Psalter, Arundel 83, the Douai Psalter, and the Windmill Psalter belonging to Mr. Pierpont Morgan. A very large example (c. 1280) is inserted in B.M. Arundel 104, and an extremely beautiful one (c. 1310) in Douce 381 at the Bodleian Library. In the Psalter of Bishop Grandison, Add. 21926 at the British Museum, and in a companion Psalter, Cl. 1, No. 77, in the Library of St. Mark's at Venice, both c. 1270, as well as in Queen Mary's Psalter, the Jesse-tree is on a separate page opposite the Beatus. There is a full-page Jesse-tree at the beginning of a noble Sarum Horae of c. 1280 belonging to Mr. Yates Thompson. This is very unusual.

<sup>1</sup> They are similarly treated in the Douai Psalter (see Plate XVI), and are also painted on the edges of that book and of the Peterborough Psalter, Barlow 22, at the Bodleian Library. They were painted in a precisely similar manner round one of the main arches of St. Stephen's Chapel in the palace of Westminster, destroyed by fire in 1835, and when so found may refer to the marriage of Edward I with Margaret of France in 1299, or to that of Edward II with Isabel of France in 1308.

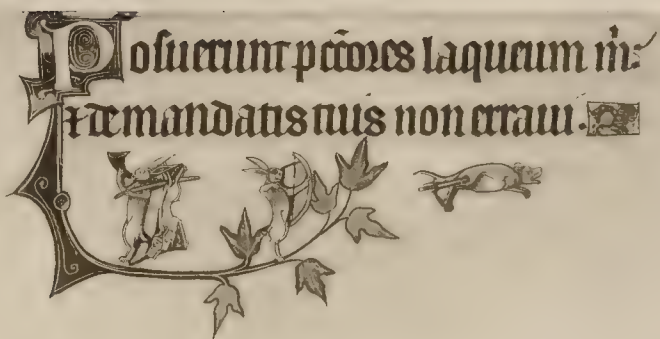
<sup>2</sup> The commonest of coats at this period. That of Clare, almost equally common, does not appear, except once doubtfully on f. 86. The last male Clare was slain at Bannockburn in 1314.



have been unable to identify this coat, the prominent position of which, between those of Edward the Confessor and St. Edmund (see Plate X), makes this failure doubly regrettable. The same charges, but on a sable field, were borne by St. Martin's Priory at Dover, and it is possible that these may have been the arms of Gorleston. Mr. St. John Hope has suggested to me that they may have been those of the Priory of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, which owned St. Andrew's Church at Gorleston. A leopard's head on a red field occurs frequently in the line-endings. It is, however, found as a decoration in several other books.

- (7) *Az. three crowns or.* The legendary arms of St. Edmund, borne by the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, and commonly met with in East Anglian books.<sup>1</sup>
- F. 86 (8) *Quarterly arg. with gu. fretty or, over all a bend sable.* Hugh le Despenser, hanged 1326. He married (before 8th November, 1286) Isabel, widow of Patrick Chaworth and daughter of William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, whose arms are no. 15 below. His widowed mother became the first wife of Roger Bigod (no. 4 above). The arms of Despenser are very frequently met with.
- (9) *Gules, three crescents ermine.* Sir John de Freville, co. Cambridge.
- (10) *Az. crusily and two trumpets palewise or.* Trumpington. A Sir Richard Trumpington was buried in Gorleston Church (see Br. Mus. Eg. 2130, f. 155).
- (11) *Arg. a fess between two chevrons gu.* Sir Gilbert Peche of Cambridge and Suffolk, taken prisoner at Bannockburn, 1314. He died in 1322. Mr. St. John Hope suggests that the field should be gold, in which case these are the arms of Fitzwalter.
- (12) *Arg. three chevrons gules.* Borne by several families, including Langton. Mr. St. John Hope suggests that the field should be gold, in which case these are the well-known arms of Clare.
- F. 107b (13) *Checky az. and arg. on a bend gules three lions passant bendwise of the second.* (?) Clifford. Compare no. 21 below. In this and the next the silver is apparently a mistake for gold.
- (14) *Checky arg. and az. on a fess gules three cinquefoils pierced arg.* (?) Clifford.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Arundel 83, f. 14, Cambr. Univ. Dd. 4. 17, in both cases associated with *gu. three crowns or*, which are the arms of St. Etheldreda and of Ely.







- (15) *Gules a fess between six cross-crosslets or.* Guy Beauchamp, <sup>Heraldic decoration</sup> Earl of Warwick, d. 1315.<sup>1</sup>
- (16) *Barry of ten arg. and az. as many martlets in orle gules.* Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, d. 1324, and buried in Westminster Abbey.<sup>2</sup>
- F. 128b (17) *Bendy sinister of ten arg. and az.* Mountford or Montfort. Perhaps for John, Lord Montfort, slain by the Scots at Strivelin, 1314.
- (18) *Arg. a saltire engrailed gu.* Payn, Lord Tiptoft, also slain at Strivelin.<sup>3</sup>
- (19) *Argent, three bars gules.* ? Molton.
- (20) *Checky az. and arg. a fess gu.* Clifford. Perhaps for Robert, fifth Baron Clifford, who was for a short time Earl Marshal after the death of Roger Bigod, and was slain at Bannockburn, 1314.
- F. 146b (21) *Checky az. and or on a fess gu. three cinquefoils pierced arg.* Roger de Clifford, executed c. 1322.
- (22) *Gules a lion rampant or.* Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who married in 1305 the only daughter of William de Warenne. He was beheaded at Hereford, 1326.<sup>4</sup>
- (23) *Arg. a saltire engrailed gu.* A repetition of (18) Sir Payn Tiptoft.
- (24) *Az. a fess arg. between three cinquefoils or.* Marward or Merward.
- (25) *Checky or and az. a fess gules.* Clifford. Compare (20).
- (26) *Az. three cinquefoils pierced or.* Thomas, Lord Bardolf, d. 1328.<sup>5</sup>
- (27) *Barry of six az. and arg. in chief three torteaux.* Reginald, Lord de Grey, d. 1307-8, or John, Lord de Grey, his son, d. 1323.
- F. 190b (28) *Gules a fess between two chevrons and three cross-crosslets.* Unidentified.
- (29) *Az. semy of cross-crosslets fitchy and three cinquefoils pierced or.* Bardolf.
- (30) *Az. two bars or between three gold.* . . . This shield has been injured.
- (31) *Gules a saltire engrailed or.* Kerdeston. Probably for Roger, Lord Kerdeston, who was Governor of Norwich Castle and d. 1337.

<sup>1</sup> Also in John Rowham's Psalter at Lambeth.

<sup>2</sup> This shield also occurs on the opening page of Cambr. Univ. MS. Dd. 4. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Also in John Rowham's Psalter at Lambeth, and in Mr. Pierpont Morgan's East Anglian Missal.

<sup>4</sup> This is one of the many coats that adorn the line-endings of the Ormesby Psalter. That of Warenne is another.

<sup>5</sup> These arms are also in John Rowham's Psalter at Lambeth, and appear on the kneeling lady in the big Beatus of the Ormesby Psalter, as well as in some line-endings towards the end of the book (see above, p. 5).

The thirteen great initials rest on a diapered field, partly pink and partly blue, the spaces of blue and pink diapering being usually arranged like a quartered shield, the first and fourth quarters being blue or pink as the case may be, and the second and third quarters pink or blue. The interior of the letters is always burnished gold, patterned with dots. The figure-work appears to be by four different hands, and the decorative work by three others. The characteristics of these seven artists will be discussed later. We must first consider the smaller psalm-initials and the ornament attached to them, for which the same artists were responsible.

Psalm-initials

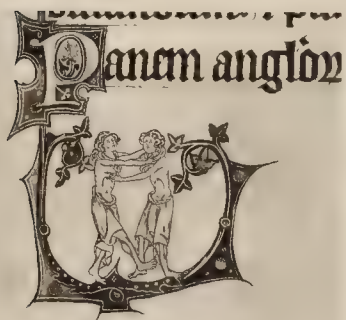
**PSALM-INITIALS.** All the other Psalms and the collects and prayers, with certain exceptions, begin with two-line initials about an inch and a quarter in height. The exceptions are the initial I's, which come into the margin and are of varying lengths, and the initials of Psalms 149 and 150, which for some reason are smaller than the rest. Including these, the number is a hundred and eighty-eight, of which a hundred and forty-five are historiated.

These two-line initials are arranged on the same plan as the great initials above described. The letter itself is blue or pink, or blue and pink, or blue, pink, and vermillion patterned with white. The panel on which it rests is diapered with pink or blue, or pink and blue, and has a narrow frame of dotted burnished gold, which is edged with green.<sup>1</sup> Within the letter there is a ground of burnished gold to throw up the figure-subjects or decorative patterns. Sometimes (*e.g.*, ff. 37, 65*b*, 78*b*, 192*b*) the dotted gold ground is in a cusped setting of pink or blue separating it from the letter.

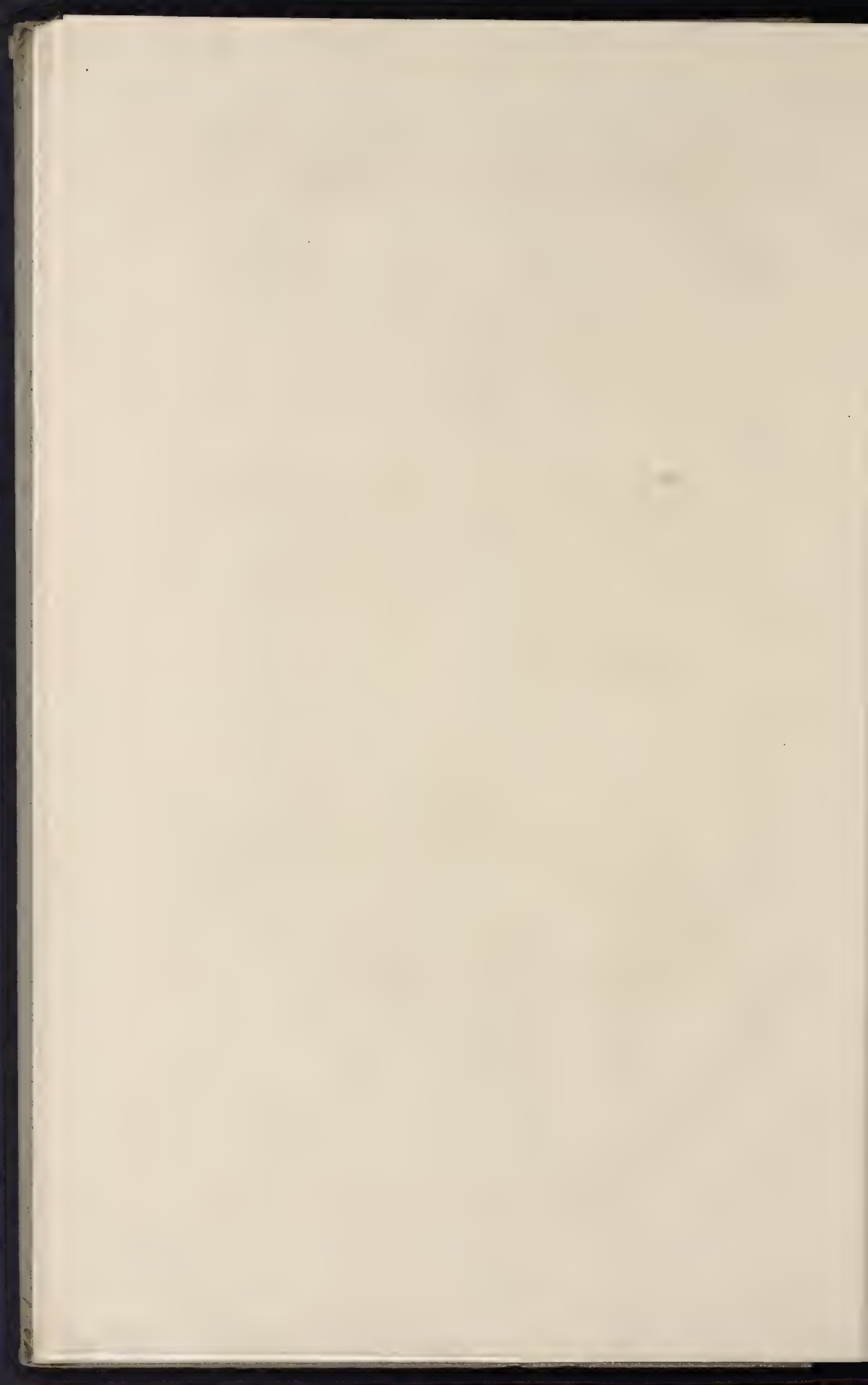
(1) *With decorative fillings.* Of the forty-three unhistoriated Psalm initials, twenty-four are filled with scrolls of red and green vine (*e.g.*, ff. 36*b*, 89, 122), seven with blue and gold chequers (*e.g.*, ff. 47, 155), six with a geometrical pattern (*e.g.*, ff. 27, 144), and six are I's formed of interlacements (*e.g.*, ff. 17*b*, 112).

(2) *Historiated.* In these also there is a marked tendency to repeat the same subject, and it must be owned that the artists show very little of the illustrative imagination that is found in French Psalters, such as Queen Joan's Psalter at the Rylands Library and MS. Ec. iv, 24 at Cambridge, both of the thirteenth century. The subjects are straightforward, usually bearing some literal reference to the first few words of the Psalm, without any thought of scholarly interpretation. They were probably taken from a pattern book and drawn and coloured without much reflexion. About half of them contain single figures only, Christ with orb (ff. 14, 30, 121*b*, 125, 214, 216) or showing his wounds (ff. 12, 91*b*, 161, 223*b*), apostles (in thirteen initials), prophets, bishops, men singing, reading, praying, etc. The others contain two or more figures, and the subjects will be described later. The marginal

<sup>1</sup> All the burnished gold in the book, except that of the verse-initials, is patterned with dots, and when there is a strip of gold on the outside of an initial or border it is almost invariably edged with green, except in the Kalendar. Compare Stowe 12, of which a page is reproduced in colour in Dr. Warner's "Illuminated MSS. in the British Museum."



Et gultis in salutari tuo in fide sua.





grotesques are by the same hands, and gave more scope for a fancy that was but little concerned with the mysteries of religion, or with any subjects not strictly mundane.

**HALF BORDERS AND MARGINAL BARS.** Attached to the two-line initials there are marginal bars and half-borders of an elaborate kind, like the borders connected with the thirteen large initials. It is to the richness and number of these that the book owes very much of its splendour. They are the work of three hands, each of whom seems to have done not only the decorative work of the borders, half-borders, and Psalm-initials, but also the majority of the line endings, on the pages entrusted to him, the figure-work in the initials and line-endings, as well as on the margins, being reserved for other draughtsmen. A fourth Decorator was employed on the Kalendar. These four artists, though not of equal skill, worked in careful harmony and used the same elements in most of their compositions. The abundant foliage is almost confined to green, red, and gold leaves of vine, ivy, and oak, and to occasional daisies and marigolds. The pimpernel, which is a marked feature of the Douai and St. Omer Psalters, is nowhere found, nor is holly. Except in the serrated "cabbage-leaf" ornament, blue<sup>1</sup> is practically never used for foliage in the body of the book. It is used in the Kalendar, and here and there in the great Beatus on f. 8. It is also used on f. 7, the added Crucifixion leaf, the work on which is by independent artists who will be ignored in the following summary of the characteristics of the Decorators employed on the Kalendar and text.

Numerous half-borders by three hands

*Decorator 1.* Ff. 8-16a, 143-226. This is by far the best, most vigorous, and most generous of the border-draughtsmen. He is a designer of rare ability. His borders are wide and his sprays of foliage are tossed about in orderly disarray without an apparent effort. The leaves are large, occasionally parti-coloured. He may be recognized by a narrow three-lobed ivy leaf with a very long central lobe. Besides foliage and strapwork, his borders often contain strips of ornament similar to the line-endings, e.g., leopards' heads (ff. 8b, 12, 14, 180, 181, 191, 205), chequers (f. 217), and a large pink and blue criss-cross (f. 177b, etc.). Medallions containing heads of men and women are also often introduced. Two Figure-draughtsmen are associated with him. One is the strongest whose work appears in the book, and the other is the weakest, who was fortunately responsible for twelve leaves only. Their characteristics will be dealt with later.

*Decorator 2.* Ff. 16a-54. F. 16a has work of Decorator 1 in the lower portion, and of Decorator 2 above. The work of the latter is easily recognizable from the lobes of his green vine-leaves, which have a narrow white space left in the middle of them at right angles to the central vein. His foliage is much smaller than that of Decorator 1. His borders are meagre and timid, and as the work of the Figure-draughtsman associated

Decorator 2

<sup>1</sup> Blue is often used in the foliage of the Douai Psalter, and the vine-leaves are frequently parti-coloured.

with him has also these qualities, the pages on which they co-operated look bare in comparison with those in the rest of the book. Decorator 2 was something of a herald, as his line-endings show. Half the Psalm-initials in his portion are decorative. He never uses parti-coloured leafage.

Decorator 3

*Decorator 3.* Ff. 55-142. This hand comes, in skill and assurance, between Decorators 1 and 2. His borders are broader than those of the latter, narrower than those of the former. He is an accomplished designer, and, unlike Decorator 2, he sometimes paints his vine-leaves in two colours. He is fond of geometrical interlacements and of a rather formless flame-like development of the budding vine-leaf. He sometimes introduces a cusped line-ending (*see below* p. 27) into his borders, *e.g.*, ff. 55*b*, 62*b*. He is associated with a good-humoured and somewhat ribald Figure-draughtsman.

Decorator 4

*Decorator 4.* Ff. 1-6 (Kalendar). This hand is rather uninspired. His foliage is neat but languid. His vine-leaves are not only red and green, but are often blue, sometimes parti-coloured. He has a fondness for symmetrical arrangement. There is no green edge to his gold. He is associated with a Figure-draughtsman of not more than average capacity.

Five Figure-draughtsmen

**FIGURE-DRAUGHTSMEN.** Having thus disposed of the Decorators, I will now attempt to separate the Figure-draughtsmen, by whom the initials were historiated and the margins enlivened with the constant succession of droll groups of men, beasts and monsters already alluded to.

It has been implied that the figures were never by the same hands as the ornament. So far as the historiatiions of the letters and the more elaborate grotesques are concerned it is easy to discern a difference of touch, but some of the minor grotesques and nondescripts are wholly or partly the work of the Decorators. The process was probably as follows: The written sheets were handed out in sections, and the scheme of ornament having been outlined in silverpoint by the Decorators, figures were similarly outlined by the Figure-draughtsmen, who added human heads to some of the monsters in borders and line-endings purposely left incomplete by their companions. Then the gold leaf was laid on where required, and burnished over a thin ground of gesso. Then came the application of the colour in flat spaces. At this stage the pages would look raw, untidy, and incomplete, until the final process, consisting of the addition of forceful black outlines and white veins, dots, lines, circles, and edgings, and a general cleaning up of the drawing, brought life and relief into the leaves and the figures, and harmony into the whole composition.<sup>1</sup> A peculiarity of this book is the filling up with burnished gold of various interstices, such as the spaces between the legs of men and animals depicted on the margins. Several examples may be seen in Plate XIII.

Figure-draughtsman 1

*Figure-draughtsman 1.* Ff. 8-15 and 143-214 (eleven sections). He

<sup>1</sup> The various stages are well shown in the Apocalypse Douce 180 at the Bodleian Library, in the Metz Pontifical belonging to Sir Thomas Brooke, and in the line-endings of certain pages of the Psalter and Hours of Isabelle of France belonging to Mr. Yates Thompson.







is associated with Decorator 1. Besides the great Beatus page he did three other large initials, *Dixit dominus*, f. 146b, *Ad dominum*, f. 167, and *Confitebor*, f. 190b. He was a man with a grave mind, a firm touch, and a sureness of hand that raise him above the level of his fellows. In his two-line initials two or more figures are usually found. He sometimes enriches the lower margins with scriptural subjects, e.g., ff. 198b, 199, 206b, 208, or figures of saints, ff. 11b, 166b, 175, 183, 204b, including two representations of St. Andrew (see above, p. 7), carefully drawn from the same copy. On two occasions he introduces Franciscans.

His marginal jests have a certain seriousness about them. Among his special subjects are a blacksmith's forge (three times), a plough (twice), the arrest of a cutpurse by a sergeant-at-mace, a blue hood through which rabbits are being chased by a dog, and a snail in conflict with a knight or some other antagonist. Twice he writes *queck* as the fox runs off with the duck. Over one of his snails he writes its name *limascoun*. He eschews green parrots as his companions eschew snails.

*Figure-draughtsman 2.* Ff. 16-55 (five sections). He worked side by side with Decorator 2. On these leaves there are two six-line initials, *Dominus illuminatio*, f. 35, and *Dixi custodiam*, f. 52b, which are clearly by the same hand, and though rather halting in design might suggest a better draughtsman than F. D. 2 shows himself to be in the two-line initials, which are nearly always historiated with single figures of small distinction. But I have come to the conclusion that they are his work. For the rest, there is nothing characteristic about him except poverty of invention. He has not even a joke of his own. His lion, his stag, his knight, his fox preaching to ducks, were all borrowed from his comrades, and better done by them. His figures and nondescripts are small and unimpressive and leave the margins very empty.

Figure-draughtsman 2

*Figure-draughtsman 3.* Ff. 55-142. This artist was associated throughout with Decorator 3. In the eleven sections entrusted to him there are no less than six of the large initials. Of these *Quid gloriaris*, f. 68b, and *Dixit insipiens*, f. 69, are on opposite pages and are obviously by the same hand. *Salvum me fac*, f. 86, *Exultate*, f. 107b, and *Domine exaudi*, f. 128b, are also clearly by one hand. *Cantate domino*, f. 126, is unlike these inasmuch as it is more obviously painted with an egg medium, causing minute cracks on the surface, and the colour scheme is different, green being largely used and red almost excluded. But the treatment of the draperies is the same, and it is with some confidence that I ascribe these six miniatures to the same hand.

Figure-draughtsman 3

Once away from the six large initials there need be no further hesitation. There are no serious or scriptural subjects in the lower margins such as are added by F. D. 1. F. D. 3 was indeed a lively and decidedly profane jester, with a turn for music and musical instruments. A favourite subject, all his own, was an organ played by an ape, rabbit, dog, etc., which he draws ten times. He often introduces monks and nuns, sometimes with a satirical

intention. Apes, rabbits<sup>1</sup> and parrots were his delight; also a fallen horse or ass, usually bestriden by one of these beasts.

Figure-  
draughtsman 4

*Figure-draughtsman 4.* Ff. 16a and 215-225. This artist, who was associated with Decorator 1 on these twelve leaves, was clearly a pupil or follower of F. D. 1, with much of his craft still to learn. His drawing is irresolute and uninventive. He uses a blue outline instead of the firm black line of his master. Nevertheless one large initial, that of *Placebo*, f. 215, is entrusted to him, and he contrives to make a passable picture of the burial of a bishop. His marginal drolleries are of a commonplace order.

Figure-  
draughtsman 5

*Figure-draughtsman 5.* Ff. 1-6 (Kalendar). This hand, associated with Decorator 4, has much in common with F. D. 4, and may possibly be identical with him. But F.D. 4's figures are done laboriously, whereas those in the Kalendar, though never first-rate, are done with a good deal of ease. They have a brown outline.

Line-endings  
classified

**LINE-ENDINGS.** These are rectangular panels of various patterns, by several hands drilled to work in unison. They may be classified as follows:

(a) *Heraldic.* (1) The golden leopards of England, on *gules*. These are only found in line-endings on ff. 35, 35b, 38, 38b, *i.e.*, two leaves of the same section, although they occur elsewhere in borders and on shields. (2) The lilies of France, or on *azure*. These occur frequently. (3) A series of leopards' heads, either gold or silver on a red field. These occur throughout the volume, either alone or alternating with the French lilies, with sprays of oak leaves on burnished gold, or with geometrical knots (*e.g.*, f. 12) and other patterns (*e.g.*, f. 147). They may possibly have a connexion with the unidentified shield on f. 69, but this is unlikely as they are also a feature of the Douai and St. Omer Psalters. (4) Chequy, or and *azure*. These well-known arms of the family of Warenne occur in many places. In some sections the chequers are two deep, and in others (*e.g.*, on ff. 9-14, 65, and 159 to the end) they are three deep, and the blue squares are usually charged with a fleur-de-lis. The Warenne arms appear on a shield on f. 68b. (5) Quarterly *argent* with *gules* fretty or, over all a bend *sable*. These are the arms of Hugh le Despenser. They are found in line-endings on ff. 32, 34b, 37 and 48, as well as on a shield on f. 86. (6) *Azure*, 3 cinquefoils or (Bardolf). This charge, which is frequently met with in East Anglian books, occurs on f. 27, and might be taken for casual decoration if it were not also on a shield on f. 146b. (7) *Gules*, three chevrons or (? Montfichet), on ff. 22, 28 and 41b. This does not occur on a shield.

(b) *Human Heads, etc.* A series of heads, usually of mailed knights

<sup>1</sup> Rabbits and apes are a feature of the remarkable series of liturgical books written early in the fourteenth century for Reinhold de Bar, Bishop of Metz (1302-1316) and other members of his family, comprising Sir Thomas Brooke's Metz Pontifical, the Verdun Breviary (of which the first volume is in Mr. Yates Thompson's collection, and the second, showing strong English influence, in the Public Library at Verdun), and a Ritualet at Metz, as well as of the famous Romance of Alexander at the Bodleian Library (MS. Bodl. 264), which is of rather later date (1338-1344), and therefore less apposite. Compare also Mr. Yates Thompson's Taymouth Horae (*c.* 1325, no. 57 in the second volume of his catalogue), and Dd. 8. 2, a folio Sarum Horae taken from a Psalter (*c.* 1300) at Cambridge University Library.

mo mendat.

**Q**uid retribuam dño: p omnibz  
que retribuit michi.



**L**anguli.  
Commino factum est i

**T**uam iniq  
de lege tua i

**U**enientes autem uenient cū exulta  
tōe: pxtātes maniplos suos.  
Sī dñs edificauit domum:





on a gold ground (*e.g.*, ff. 121*b*, 122, 211*b*), is rather frequent. A modification of this pattern, a row of garlanded girls, shown as far as the armpits and holding between them what look like small faggots, is found on ff. 24 and 73. On f. 80 three white monks are singing at a desk. On f. 51 two men blow long horns in the ears of a king. Other variants may be seen on ff. 32*b*, 50, 51*b*, 54*b*, 74 and 86*b*. Nothing of this nature is found in the Douai Psalter.

(c) *Animals*. One of the most characteristic and noticeable of the line-endings, also absent from the Douai Psalter, is a rabbit warren. This subject is treated often and with evident zest. One of the rabbits has not infrequently strayed into the margin (*e.g.*, ff. 19, 49, 57, 80, and 210). Other subjects that come under this heading are a hound alone (ff. 32*b*, 142*b*), or chasing a hare (ff. 21, 45*b*), a fox with a duck (f. 46), hogs with or without oak leaves and acorns (*e.g.*, ff. 70*b*, 123*b*, 124*b*, 133*b*, 136*b*), an ape, a bird (f. 189*b*), a fish (f. 53), and a variety of nondescripts. These are all related to the marginal grotesques yet to be described.

(d) *A looped curtain* hanging in strips of two alternating colours (usually red and green) on a gold ground. Sometimes (*e.g.*, ff. 18, 24, 103) there is a man or woman at each end fastening it up. Similar curtains are found in the St. Omer and Douai Psalters, but in the former the points of attachment are marked by roundels and in the latter by tiny leopards' heads, in each case coming above the line.

(e) *Sprays of oak leaves*, with or without acorns, arranged in a repeated series like an heraldic charge, on a burnished gold ground, and often alternating, as stated above, with leopards' heads. There is a similar treatment of oak sprays in the Douai and St. Omer Psalters. In the Douai Psalter daisies and ivy leaves also play a large part in the line-endings. In the line-endings of this book there are no daisies, and ivy or vine leaves are very infrequent (*see* ff. 26*b*, 41*b*, 114, 193), whereas the oak sprays occur abundantly.

(f) *An architectural pattern*, composed of a zigzag line with cusps above and below, forming half-quatrefoils. The cusps are alternately blue and pink and the ground is burnished gold.

(g) *Various geometrical patterns and diapers*. A blue or pink fret on a burnished gold ground is exceedingly common, as are various kinds of diaper. On f. 117 there are some pink and blue squares placed on a gold ground and patterned with white lace-work like the fillings of the verse-initials next to be described.

MARGINAL SUBJECTS. These may be divided into groups of Marginal  
drolleries  
(a) Animals, etc. (b) Various jests in which animals take part, or are treated grotesquely. (c) Games, occupations, etc. (d) Musicians. (e) Monks, nuns, and ecclesiastics. (f) Sacred subjects.

(a) *Animals, etc.* (Plates IV, V). These include apes (ff. 17, 19, 28, 55, 59*b*, 72, 100*b*, 104, 114, 115, 135*b*, 169, 220*b*, etc., with mule 112*b*, 142), boars (ff. 8, 145, 191, 209*b*), cat (f. 204), dogs (ff. 55, 93*b*, 106,

162, 188, chasing rabbit, 18, 103, 107*b*, 127*b*, 128*b*, 133, 135, 179, barking at fox running off with a duck, 87*b*, goat (f. 144*b*), lions (ff. 16*b*, 23, 32*b*, 35, 114, 189), pigs at oak tree (ff. 21*b*, 22, 79), rabbits (ff. 106, 107*b*, 153, 160*b*, 177*b*, 178*b*, etc.), stags (ff. 47*b*, 74*b*, 145, 152, 200*b*, 210, in earth, 8, 10, 177*b*, pursued by hound, 8, 45, 142, 187), eaglet (f. 9), magpie (f. 185*b*), parrots (ff. 60, 85, 101*b*, 118*b*, 125*b*, etc.), raven eating pig (f. 165), butterfly (f. 153*b*), centaur (f. 80), and a great variety of monsters and nondescripts.

(b) *Various jests in which animals take part or are treated grotesquely* (Plates VIII, IX, X, XI, XIII). Ape with sword and buckler (ff. 46, 68*b*, 86*b*) shooting at bird (f. 195), shooting at rabbit (ff. 46*b*, 90*b*), shooting at snail (f. 214*b*), beating a horse (f. 142), on horseback chasing rabbit or hare (f. 65), chasing another ape (f. 83*b*), shot at by centaur (f. 66), asking mercy of warrior (ff. 136, 137*b*), as bishop (f. 96), as doctor (ff. 54*b*, 94, 105, 177, 178), as piper (f. 71), as ploughman (f. 15*b*).

Boar attacking a knight who drops his sword (f. 151).

Centaur shooting at stag (f. 10), at ape (ff. 66, 78), chasing rabbit (ff. 42*b*, 79, 99, 114*b*, 150).

Dragon attacking a knight (ff. 40*b*, 129, 135, 138*b*).

Fox, dressed as a bishop, preaching to ducks (ff. 47, 49*b*, 128, 143*b*), riding an ape (f. 218*b*), riding a goat (f. 152*b*).

Housefly attacked by man with shield and spear (f. 7*b*).

Rabbits hunting dogs (ff. 161*b*, 173*b*),<sup>1</sup> beating dog (f. 119), chased by dog into a blue hood through which they skip (ff. 148, 202*b*, 212), shooting parrot (f. 85), with crutch (f. 167*b*), reasoning with youth (f. 56), wielding an axe (f. 13*b*), leading an ape (f. 84), leading a bear (ff. 71*b*, 109*b*), blown out of a horn (ff. 64*b*, 187, 196*b*), lighting candles at a bier (f. 164, comp. f. 92*b*), taking part in a funeral procession, consisting of a rabbit ringing two hand-bells followed by another acting as cross-bearer, attended by two others as taperers. Behind these are two more, one in surplice, the other as a priest in amice and albe with crossed stole, who turn backwards towards the bier. The latter has a sprinkler, the former a censer. The bier, on which is seated another rabbit blowing a long horn, is carried by two red dogs. Finally comes an eighth rabbit with a supply of candles (f. 133). The last two subjects are illustrated at the top of Plate IX.

Snail attacking a knight (ff. 146, 162*b*, 170, 193*b*, 213*b*),<sup>2</sup> attacking a naked man (f. 184*b*), attacking a boy armed with a hatchet (f. 180*b*), attacking a pelican (f. 209*b*), encountering a watchman (f. 185*b*, comp. f. 153), fighting an ape (f. 210*b*), fighting a nondescript (ff. 10, 13, 179, 200, in the last of these *limascoun* is written above the snail).

(c) *Games, occupations, etc.* (Plates VII, X, XI, XIII). Wrestlers (ff. 101, 212), contest with sword and buckler (ff. 7*b*, 69), putting stone (f. 74), girls holding (?) faggot (f. 136*b*, comp. line-endings ff. 24, 73), woman (ff. 64, 69*b*, 88, 141), making garland (f. 20), warning fox from

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ormesby Psalter, f. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Ormesby Psalter, f. 109.

her duck (f. 145*b*), chasing fox with duck (f. 156*b*), woman-monster with distaff ditto (ff. 35, 149*b*, 190*b*), skeleton (f. 123*b*), king (f. 202), seated man (ff. 40*b*, 73), crouching man (188*b*, 191), two figures sitting back to back (f. 177), nude figures (ff. 17, 45*b*, 47*b*, 75*b*, 82, 97*b*, 111, 126*b*, 146*b*, 148*b*, 151*b*, 158*b*, 179*b*, 181, 194, 208), man in black cloak and hood with two long ears (ff. 104*b*, 112*b*, 122*b*, 126, 126*b*, nondescript in ditto, 66*b*), man rejecting something offered in a bowl by a monster (f. 48*b*), by an ape (f. 62), by a girl (f. 124*b*), giving a ring to a woman (f. 199*b*), digging (f. 158*b*), breaking the soil with a pick (f. 211*b*), ploughing with two oxen and a horse (f. 153*b*, comp. f. 15*b*), forging a horseshoe (ff. 144*b*, 154*b*, 193), two men with flails (f. 121), man knocking down acorns for his pig (ff. 102, 142*b*, 154), picking grapes (f. 107), man with axe (ff. 92*b*, 137, 155), attacking three girls (139*b*), brandishing two swords (f. 122), leading a bear (f. 59*b*), slaying nude man (179*b*), driving stag (ff. 158, 196), driving hare (f. 209), slinging at stag (f. 74*b*), shooting fox running off with duck (ff. 55, 103), man netting rabbits (f. 132*b*), monster ditto (f. 150), rabbit-hunter returning with dog (ff. 140, 145*b*), luring rabbit from a branch (f. 87), man shooting at rabbit (ff. 123, 132*b*, 138, 156, 183, 216), shooting with crossbow at bird (f. 13*b*), with bow and arrow (ff. 190, 215), at parrot with bow and quarrel (ff. 36, 58*b*, 95, 131), with sling (f. 135*b*), huntsman blowing horn (f. 96*b*), man-at-arms with sword or falchion (ff. 39, 40*b*, 138*b*), capturing a cut-purse (f. 153), capturing a grape-stealer (f. 155*b*). The last two subjects are very spirited and are reproduced in Plate XIII.

Marginal  
drolleries

(d) *Musicians* (Plates V, VI, XII). Bagpipes played by youth (ff. 57, 107*b*, 160*b*, 187*b*), by nondescript (ff. 63, 108, 131, 157*b*), by ape (f. 43*b*), by hare (f. 192), harp played by youth (f. 153*b*), horn blown by man (ff. 38*b*, 43*b*, 65, 203*b*), by woman (201), by angel (f. 10*b*), by ape (ff. 115*b*, 120*b*, 124*b*, 134), organ played by dog and hare (ff. 88*b*, 95*b*, 106*b*, 116*b*, 138), by ape and hare (ff. 67*b*, 129*b*), by ape and boy (f. 117), by girl and zany (ff. 122*b*, 126), portable organ played by man (ff. 99, 119, 139), pipe in combination with a small drum bound to the shoulders, played by king on back of ass (f. 125), by nude man (ff. 192*b*, 204), by ape (f. 211), by dog (f. 82), by nondescript (f. 154*b*),<sup>1</sup> tambourine played by girl (f. 111*b*), by dog (f. 23*b*), viol played by girl or youth (ff. 58*b*, 100, 116, 121*b*, 137*b*, 211*b*), by ape (f. 35), by nondescript (f. 19*b*), zither-player (f. 88*b*).

(e) *Monks, nuns, and Ecclesiastics* (Plate XIV). Pope and bishop (f. 207), Pope at a lectern (f. 68), bishop and Benedictine nun at a lectern (f. 102*b*), bishop hearing the confession of a Benedictine monk (f. 131*b*), of a Benedictine nun (f. 117), a pardoner giving a purse to a Benedictine nun (f. 115), emptying a purse at a girl's feet (ff. 95, 142*b*), Benedictine monk (ff. 63, 79*b*, 83, 86*b*, 119*b*), ditto nun (ff. 90*b*, 110*b*), Cistercian ff. 77, 81), hermit (f. 161), priest chanting (f. 197).

(f) *Sacred subjects* (Plates IV, VIII, XIV). These are not numerous

<sup>1</sup> Compare Stowe 12, f. 337*b*.



and are subsequently described in connexion with the miniatures in the initials. With one exception they are the work of Figure-draughtsman 1 (see p. 25), and comprise David and Goliath (ff. 8, 204b), the Virgin seated (f. 210b), with the Child (f. 206b), the Crucifixion (f. 199), the Resurrection (f. 198b), *Noli me tangere* (f. 208), hell-mouth (f. 181b), St. Andrew (ff. 111b, 175), St. Peter (ff. 16, 166b), St. Paul (f. 159), St. Bartholomew (ff. 183, 204b)<sup>1</sup> and an angel (ff. 10b, 202).

Figure-work  
described

The time has now come to describe in detail the figure-subjects in the Kalendar and initials, with occasional reference to the corresponding subjects in the Douai and St. Omer Psalters.

Decoration of  
Kalendar

On the left-hand side of each page of the Kalendar there is a broad bar or ribbon of pink and blue patterned with white and edged with narrow strips of burnished and dotted gold. On this bar, which turns the corner at the top and encloses the letters KL, and at the bottom usually ends in a branch of gold and coloured foliage supporting the Signs of the Zodiac and the Occupations of the Months, there is a stem connecting four medallions (in January and December five) in which, on a burnished gold ground, are the heads of the principal saints of each month nearly opposite their names.<sup>2</sup> The stems between the medallions throw off sprays of green, red, and blue leaves of vine, oak, etc. The Occupations of the Months and the Signs of the Zodiac are side by side to the left of the lower margin, in pink and blue roundels with dotted gold backgrounds (see Plate II). In the Douai Psalter (see Plate XVIII) the marginal bar is less formal, and does not enclose heads of saints, though it embraces the Occupation of the Month as it turns the lower corner, the Sign of the Zodiac being placed in the right-hand margin in a roundel decorated with foliage.

Kalendar  
subjects

1. *January*. A hooded man is seated before a fire on which is a red earthenware two-handled jar. He stirs the contents of the jar with his left hand, and in his right hand holds up a red boot to dry. (In the Douai Psalter there is the same subject, which is more usually given to February.)
2. Instead of any representation of *Aquarius* some green waves are shown in the companion roundel.  
In the medallions are depicted the Three Kings (Epiphany) and Saints Hilary, Agnes, Paul, and Batildis.
3. *February*. A hooded man digging with a pointed mattock. (Same subject in Douai Psalter.)
4. *Pisces* have their mouths joined by a red cord.  
In the medallions the Virgin, and Saints Agatha, Peter, and Matthias.
5. *March*. A youth stands between two oak trees, which he holds. (This

<sup>1</sup> It has been stated above that the church of St. Andrew at Gorleston was owned by the Priory of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield.

<sup>2</sup> These heads resemble those in initials in Stowe 12 and in the Gray-Clifford Horae (MS. 242) at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.







seems to be the April subject of a youth with flowers, misunderstood. <sup>Kalendar subjects</sup>  
In the Douai Psalter he is pruning, or lopping, the usual subject for March, which is here given to April.)

6. *Aries*, with curly horns, eats some standing grass.

In the medallions Saints Gregory, Edward king and martyr, and Cuthbert, and the Annunciation.

7. *April*. A hooded man lops a vine. (In Douai Psalter a sower, which usually illustrates October.)

8. *Taurus* is red.

In the medallions Saints Mary of Egypt and Ambrose, the lion of St. Mark, and St. Erkenwald.

9. *May*. A bearded man rides out hawking on a blue horse, which moves to *r*. (Same subject in Douai Psalter.)

10. *Gemini* are a mermaid and a merman with red and blue tails respectively. (In Douai Psalter two nude figures with spears, holding a shield before them.)

In the medallions Saints John the Evangelist, Dunstan (?), Augustine, and Petronilla.

11. *June*. A mower. (In Douai Psalter, this and the next subject are transposed.)

12. *Cancer*, a four-legged, toad-like creature.

In the medallions Saints Barnabas, Edward, an Agnus Dei (for the Nativity of John the Baptist), and St. Paul.

13. *July*. A man cutting weeds with bill-hook and forked stick. (These instruments are more clearly shown in MSS. Ar. 157 and 1 D. x, at the British Museum.)

14. *Leo*, looking to *r*. with tail over back.

In the medallions Saints Thomas of Canterbury, Margaret, James, and German.

15. *August*. A reaper. (In the Douai Psalter there is a butterfly over the corn.)

16. *Virgo* is a mermaid. This is unusual. Compare *Gemini*.

In the medallions St. Lawrence, the Virgin Mary (for her Assumption), St. Bartholomew, and the head of St. John the Baptist in a red chalice-like vessel (see Plate II).

17. *September*. A man plucking grapes. (In the Douai Psalter two naked men are treading grapes.)

18. *Libra*, a realistic pair of scales.

In the medallions the Virgin (for her Nativity), a youth (not St. Helen) holding a green cross, St. Matthew, and St. Michael.

19. *October*. A sower. He carries the seed in a sort of box with legs. (In the Douai Psalter a man knocks down acorns for his pig. Comp. Lansd. 431 at the B.M. This is more often the subject for November.)

20. *Scorpius*, a finely drawn red dragon.

In the medallions St. Mark the pope, the bull of St. Luke, St. Roman, and Saints Simon and Jude.

Kalendar  
subjects

21. *November*. A man killing a pig with an axe. (Same subject in Douai Psalter. This often illustrates December.)

22. *Sagittarius* in a red coat, shooting over his back.

In the medallions Saints Martin, Edmund the archbishop, Katherine, and Andrew.

23. *December*. A king with two faces (*Janus bifrons*) seated at a table with knife and goblet. (In the Douai Psalter a king feasts with two female companions.)

24. *Capricornus*, a goat with curly horns.

In the medallions Saints Nicholas, Lucy (or perhaps the Virgin), Thomas the Apostle, the Nativity, and St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Full-page  
Crucifixion

25. F. 7. After the Kalendar there is a full-page picture of the Crucifixion (Plate III), on a ground of burnished gold with a dotted diaper set lozenge-wise. At the corners of a border,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. broad, are quatrefoils with symbols of the Evangelists holding scrolls on which are their names. In the middle of each of the sides there is a roundel containing a head. The topmost head is that of a young queen. The bottom one is that of a man with curly black hair and beard. The two other heads are evidently portraits from life of old men with curly white hair and beard very carefully drawn. The right-hand figure was an ecclesiastic.

These roundels are joined to the quatrefoils at the corners by strips of the arms of France and England alternately, bordered on each side by a lozenge diaper of blue, pink and vermillion.

The foot of the tall carmine Cross is embraced by Mary Magdalene, whose mantle is violet, lined with vermillion. On the left the Virgin stands with hands raised and clasped. Her tunic is blue, and her mantle pink, lined with fur. St. John on the right is in a similar attitude of grief. His tunic is pink, and his mantle blue with a vermillion lining. There is a thin green fillet (the Crown of Thorns) round the head of Christ, but otherwise there is no green in this picture, except in bunches of daisies, marigolds and ivy leaves at the corners, which look as though they had been added by Decorator 2 or 3 after the picture was finished. They are much coarser than the foliage on the other side of the page.

This Crucifixion is on a single leaf the counterpart of which is lacking. The missing leaf may have been a blank before or after the Kalendar, but was more probably enriched with a picture of the Virgin and Child facing the Crucifixion, as in the Douai Psalter and part 2 of the Arundel Psalter.<sup>1</sup> In any case, the existing leaf is an addition made by special artists, working in a rather more advanced style than is found in the body of the book, and was

<sup>1</sup> In two early Psalters at the British Museum, Harl. 2904 (10th cent.), and Arundel 60 (11th cent.), there is a Crucifixion opposite the *Beatus*. In a beautiful Sarum Horae of c. 1300, Dd. 4. 17, at the Cambridge University Library, there are twelve full-page pictures closely connected in style with those in Queen Mary's Psalter, 2 B. vii, and the Apocalypse 19 B. xv at the British Museum. The series ends with a Virgin and Child and a Crucifixion. In the Douai Psalter these two subjects appear to be, like the full-page Majesty in some Psalters and the Jesse-tree, survivors from a longer series, of



catus iur  
qui non a  
but in con  
silio impi  
orum. et in  
uia peccati  
non stetit.  
et in cathe

dra pestilencie non seduit.

Sed in lege domini uoluntas eius: et in  
lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte.

Et erit tanquam lignum quod planta  
tum est secus decursus aquarum: quod fruc  
tum suum dabit in tempore suo.

Et folium eius non defluet: et omnia q  
cumq; faciet prosperabuntur.

Non sic impius non sic: sed tanquam pul  
uis quem proiciat uentus a facie terre.



perhaps inserted a few years after its completion. The work on both sides of it is more finished and delicate, and at the same time less vigorous than any of the other decoration. The colour scheme is lighter. Flat gold is used in combination with burnished gold, which is minutely diapered and dotted. A violet pigment, of which there is no trace in the main portion of the book, is used for some of the draperies.<sup>1</sup> An olive green is also sparsely used in connexion with a dull yellow.<sup>2</sup> The human faces are not very expressive, but are of a noteworthy type, with curly hair, beard, and brows elaborately drawn, and the eyes close together. On f. 7<sup>b</sup> many of the leaves are parti-coloured, red and blue. In all these respects the treatment vividly recalls the Douai Psalter, and indeed the Crucifixion in that volume (Plate XVI) is so closely related to that in the Gorleston Psalter as to have suggested to Dr. James that they are by the same hand. After seeing them together I am disposed to pronounce against this conclusion, but if they are not by one artist, they must be by two artists who worked side by side. In the Douai Crucifixion there is greater finish and accomplishment than in the other. The figures are more forcible and the gold background is patterned with dotted leafage instead of with a simple geometrical diaper. Mary Magdalene is absent. The arms of England and France are arranged in similar panels in the borders of both Crucifixions, but in the Douai Psalter the enclosing diaper is varied in alternate strips with strapwork and foliage. Other differences will be plain to anyone comparing the two reproductions.

The Douai  
Crucifixion

On the back of the Crucifixion is the prayer *Suscipere dignare domine deus omnipotens hos psalmos quos ego indignus peccator*, etc. The initial S is formed of coils of parti-coloured hawthorn-leaves on a flat gold ground, and a thin bar of ornament extends from it to the foot of the page, throwing off delicate branches on which are a robin, a goldfinch, a man in a violet cloak thrusting a spear at a very realistic fly, and two youths fighting with sword and buckler from a scroll of marigolds and daisies. The writing on this page is slightly smaller than that of the body of the text, but differs from it only in small details and in a tendency to greater compression. The decoration, as already stated, is by a hand whose work is very refined and does not occur elsewhere in the book.

26. F. 8. Psalm 1. *Beatus vir*. A page of great magnificence. The great Beatus-page B is on a panel of blue and pink diaper bordered with the arms of France and

which the others have been crowded out or have taken a minor place in the Beatus-page. In Arundel 83, part 2, the other subjects receive important but still subordinate treatment in groups of cusped quatrefoils. It may be noted that though the Virgin is seated in the Arundel Psalter and standing in the Douai Psalter, and the style and accessories are widely different, the Child in each case plays with a goldfinch.

<sup>1</sup> This violet is very characteristic of East Anglian books of the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is found in the Douai Psalter, the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels, Mr. Thompson's St. Omer Psalter, Arundel 83, Stowe 12, and in the figure of Robert of Ormesby added below the great Beatus of the Ormesby Psalter, though not in the original part of that book. Violet pigment was used in many books (e.g., Lansd. 383), of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but in books of the thirteenth century it is very rarely found.

<sup>2</sup> This is also found in the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels, in Arundel 83, and occasionally in the Douai Psalter (e.g., ff. 1 and 160<sup>b</sup>).



Beatus-page England in alternate strips which are edged with burnished gold. On the right the gold edging is extended so as to take in the letters *EATVS VIR QUI* which are arranged vertically on alternate grounds of pink and blue, the letters being alternately blue and pink with a filling of coloured leafage. On the left the B is continued in two loops which join the inner side of the main border and are the points from which spring intersecting branches of composite oak and vine running round the whole page and forming a series of elliptical settings for various figures. Within the branches and at the points of intersection there is burnished gold, and thin strips of burnished gold enclose the whole border-composition in right lines which are interrupted only at the corners by angular developments. Between these enclosing lines and the intersecting branches there is a diapered ground in alternate strips of pink and blue. The gold is everywhere dotted.

Within the B on a burnished gold ground there is an elaborate tree of Jesse. Jesse lies under a blue coverlet with his head to *l.* resting on his bent right arm. There is a red pillow behind it. An oak tree springing from his loins throws off looped branches containing four seated kings on either side, placed vertically, while between the two rows of kings the two main stems intersect so as to support (1) a Virgin and Child, (2) a Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John, and (3) at the top Christ seated with hand raised in Benediction. The lowest king on *r.* is David harping. A young king opposite him is probably Solomon. Two angels in girded albs swing censers at the feet of the Virgin and Child, while on either side of each series of kings are standing prophets, fourteen in all. In the outer loops of the B are two more kings, and in the intersecting branches which carry the Jesse-tree round the border there are six others as well as seven more prophets. The composition thus comprises sixteen kings and twenty-one prophets. The prophets all have scrolls. The kings wear mantles lined with vair. Their crowns are outlined in black on the gold background. Some of them hold red sceptres with heavy carved heads. Their hair is sometimes painted blue, sometimes drawn in black or brown lines over yellow. In the lower portions of the border the kings and prophets give place, and the interlacing branches are filled with five pictures of (1) The Annunciation, (2) the Visitation, (3) the Nativity, (4) the Adoration of the Kings, and (5) the Presentation in the Temple. In (1) Gabriel on *l.* holds a scroll with the words *AUE MARIA GRA'*, and the Virgin stands on *r.* with hands raised and displayed. Behind her is a carved lectern which may be seen again in an initial on f. 10. In (2) the Virgin and St. Elizabeth embrace, throwing an arm round each other's necks. In (3) the attitude and drapery of the recumbent Virgin are almost exactly those of Jesse above. Joseph on *r.* holds a staff. The Child lies swaddled in a crib raised on a column, and the ox and the ass, with red bridles, bend over him. In (4) the Virgin sits on *r.* in crown and vair-lined mantle, holding the Child, who wears a red tunic. In (5), repeated in an initial on f. 205*b*, Simeon stands behind an altar on *r.* and receives the Child in his arms, which are covered with a humeral veil. The Child holds an







orb. Joseph follows the Virgin from *l.* with a basket containing three Beatus-pages doves.

Between the text and the border there is a grotesque hunting-scene with stags, rabbits and dogs. In a white space to the left of the B Goliath stands in banded mail and surcoat holding a long spear and a dagger raised in a menacing way. In the lower margin he is again depicted, crouching on the ground and clinging to his spear while David slings a stone at him.<sup>1</sup> These two figures are repeated on f. 204b.

It is instructive to compare this splendid page (Plate IV) with the similar pages in the Douai and St. Omer Psalters in which a considerable modification of the theme is apparent. In the Gorleston Psalter the B of the Beatus is a solid-looking letter with a little strap-work in the upright limb. In the Douai Psalter (Plate XVII) the letter is composed of an intricate mesh of coloured interlacements like basket-work. The figures above Jesse in the B are nine kings in various dramatic attitudes, in three tiers of three. In the border there are twenty-five more kings. Nowhere are there prophets. A picture of the Virgin and Child ends the series, in the upper part of the border. Between the text and the lower border there is a wider space than in the Gorleston Psalter, containing a very elaborate and beautiful composition of David bringing up the Ark of the Lord, but there are no other scriptural illustrations. In the outer margin are various birds, like those commonly met with in French fourteenth-century manuscripts, and a man shooting upwards.<sup>2</sup>

In the St. Omer Psalter (Plate XV) the B is smaller than in the other two books and is much simpler, as regards the actual letter, than in the Douai Psalter. Figures of musicians, etc., are enclosed in its broader portions. Inside the letter the kings are reduced to two, David and Solomon, with Moses, Elijah and two prophets beside them. Above the kings and prophets two angels adore the Child, standing on his Mother's knee. Here the Jesse-tree motive ends. In the border, which is most complicated and full of delicate and original invention, there are nine medallions containing scenes from Genesis as far as the Drunkenness of Noah, with exquisite marginal accessories, including figures of the original owner and his wife and quantities of animals and birds. It is by an artist with a far more nimble fancy and more skilful hand than any of those engaged on the Gorleston Psalter. At the same time the advance it betokens is not an unqualified improvement. Something is lost as well as gained. The repose and rhythm of the Gorleston Beatus-page and its perfect relation between text and ornament are surely lacking in this marvellous but somewhat restless achievement.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> David slings at Goliath in the lower margin of the Beatus-page of a Psalter from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, belonging to Mr. Perrins, and also in the same position in the Tenison Psalter (British Museum, 24686). On f. 13b of the latter book there is a pretty hunting-scene, in which a dog catches a buck by the leg, as in the composition above referred to. In the lower margin of the Beatus-page in the Lambeth Psalter David sits naked holding a spear. A lion crouches before him.

<sup>2</sup> For both birds and archer compare the Beatus-page of the Tenison Psalter.

<sup>3</sup> For the purpose of further comparison two other Beatus-pages are reproduced in Plates XIX and XX. The first is the frontispiece of the Ormesby Psalter. The second is from Arundel 83,



27. F. 8*b*, Ps. 2. *Quare fremuerunt*. On *r*. Christ stands with *r*. hand raised and addresses three kings who stand on *l*. with hands raised in argument. An illustration of the second verse. *Asiiterunt reges terre . . . adversus dominum et adversus Christum eius*.

28. F. 9, on lower margin. A similar subject. Two of the kings seated and Christ appearing on *r*. from above. It illustrates verse 10. *Et nunc reges intelligite*.

29. F. 9*b*, Ps. 3. *Domine quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me . . . Tu autem domine susceptor meus*. A bishop stands on *l*. with hands raised in supplication. Two knights in banded mail on *r*. are about to attack him. Divine hand above. Comp. ff. 75, 180, and 180*b*.

30. F. 10, Ps. 4. *Cum invocarem exaudivit me deus*. A bald-headed and bearded layman in a blue gown seated before a carved lectern with hands raised in supplication. This appears to be a portrait. The same figure occurs in many places. The lectern is similar to one shown in the Annunciation at the foot of f. 8.

31. F. 11, Ps. 5. *Verba mea auribus percipe*. A man in tunic and mantle singing from a book which he holds up with both hands.

32-33. F. 11*b*. At top of page St. Bartholomew with knife. Comp. ff. 37, 183. Below, under a canopy with burnished gold background, St. Andrew bound to a green saltire cross. A man kneels on either side; on *l*. a young layman, on *r*. an older man in a Benedictine habit. Comp. f. 175 by the same hand. (See Plate XIV and title-page.)

34. F. 12, Ps. 6. *Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me*. Christ seated and showing His five wounds. Comp. ff. 91*b*, 161, 223*b*.

In marginal bar a queen with sceptre and book.

35. F. 12*b*, Ps. 7. *Domine deus meus in te speravi*. A bearded prophet or hermit standing, with hands raised and bare feet, between two trees.

36. F. 13. In lower margin the interior of a church or chapel, on the roof of which a bird is sitting. Similar buildings are shown on ff. 113 and 128*b*. A priest raises the host marked with the letters *ihc* before an altar on *r*. on which there is a veiled chalice. Behind him on *l*. a young kneeling layman in a blue gown with hands raised in prayer.

37. F. 14, Ps. 8. *Domine dominus noster*. The Deity seated holding orb in *l*. hand and with *r*. hand raised in benediction. Comp. ff. 30, 121*b*, 214, 216, especially the last two, which are by the same hand.

In marginal bar a kneeling figure, similar to that on f. 10.

38. F. 14*b*, Ps. 9. *Confitebor tibi domine*. A bishop seated on *l*. with rod uplifted over a nearly naked youth who kneels on *r*. Comp. f. 147 by the same hand.

39. F. 15*b*. On lower margin, an ape driving a wheeled plough, with cusped metal share (see Plate XI. This suggests some of the marginal subjects in the Lutterel Psalter). Comp. f. 153*b*.

part 1. They are both, except the kneeling ecclesiastics in Plate XIX, which were added over text c. 1325, of the opening years of the fourteenth century.



40. F. 16. In lower margin St. Peter with key. He was evidently drawn by the same hand as the figures on ff. 215-225<sup>b</sup> (Figure-draughtsman 4). Figure-subjects

41. F. 18<sup>b</sup>, Ps. 11. *Salvum me fac domine*. The Deity above, a naked man in water below. The usual illustration of Psalm 68, which begins with the same words.

42. F. 19<sup>b</sup>, Ps. 13. *Dixit insipiens*. A pilgrim with staff and scrip.

43. F. 21, Ps. 15. *Conserva me domine*. St. John with scroll, on which are the words IN PRINCIPIO ERAT. The eagle is at his feet.

44. F. 23, Ps. 17. *Diligam te domine*. St. Andrew holding a green cross.

45. F. 28, Ps. 19. *Exaudiat te dominus*. St. Philip holding a scroll on which is s. PHILIPPUS. Comp. f. 58.

46. F. 30, Ps. 21. *Deus deus meus*. The Deity seated with orb in left hand, and right hand raised in benediction. Comp. ff. 14, 121<sup>b</sup>, 214, 216.

47. F. 32, Ps. 23. *Domini est terra*. St. James holding a scroll on which is s. IACOBUS.

48. F. 35, Ps. 26. *Dominus illuminatio mea*. A six-line initial, composed of blue and pink strapwork. The anointing of David by Samuel. David is in a long blue over-tunic and an under-tunic of the same colour. Samuel, in a pink over-tunic and a blue mantle, stands on the *r.* and pours oil on his head from a silver vessel. Behind Samuel are two men, the foremost of whom bears the crown in his right hand, which is covered by a fold of his mantle. On the *l.* three other spectators, doubtless Jesse and two of his sons. Jesse holds up his left hand in astonishment. The gold background is patterned with vine leaves. Shields of France and England are placed where the loops of the D join the border.

49. F. 37, Ps. 28. *Afferte domino*. St. Bartholomew holding a knife. See also ff. 11<sup>b</sup> and 183.

50. F. 42, Ps. 32. *Exultate iusti in domino*. An archbishop in full pontificals holding a cross.

51. F. 44<sup>b</sup>, Ps. 34. *Judica domine*. St. Matthew holding a scroll on which is s. MATHEUS. Comp. f. 61<sup>b</sup>.

52. F. 48, Ps. 36. *Noli emulari*. St. John the Baptist.

53. F. 52<sup>b</sup>, Ps. 38. *Dixi custodiam vias meas*. A six-line initial. On *r.* Christ stands at an altar holding a processional cross and showing His five wounds. He turns towards David, who kneels before him pointing to his lips, in illustration of the words *Posui ori meo custodiam . . . Obmutui . . . et silui a bonis*. Behind David two kneeling youths. The foremost of them has a blue hood falling over his shoulders, his over-tunic being pink. Hoods of this kind, of a different colour from the over-tunic, are frequently seen in this MS.

54. F. 55<sup>b</sup>, Ps. 40. *Beatus qui intelligit*. A bishop.

55. F. 58, Ps. 43. *Deus auribus nostris audivimus*. St. Philip with a scroll on which is s. PHILIPPVS APOSTOL'. Comp. f. 28.

56. F. 61*b*, Ps. 45. *Deus noster refugium*. St. Matthew with scroll on which is s. MATHEUS. Comp. f. 44*b*.

57. F. 64, Ps. 48. *Audite hec omnes gentes*. An apostle preaching to four men who stand and sit on l. Comp. ff. 99*b*, 170*b*.

58. F. 65*b*, Ps. 49. *Deus deorum dominus locutus est et vocavit terram*. The Deity stands with book in right hand, and left hand stretched towards a green patch representing the earth.

59. F. 67, Ps. 50. *Miserere mei deus*. Two kneeling figures, on l. a layman, on r. a monk in black habit. Comp. ff. 11*b*, 73, 113*b*, 114*b*.

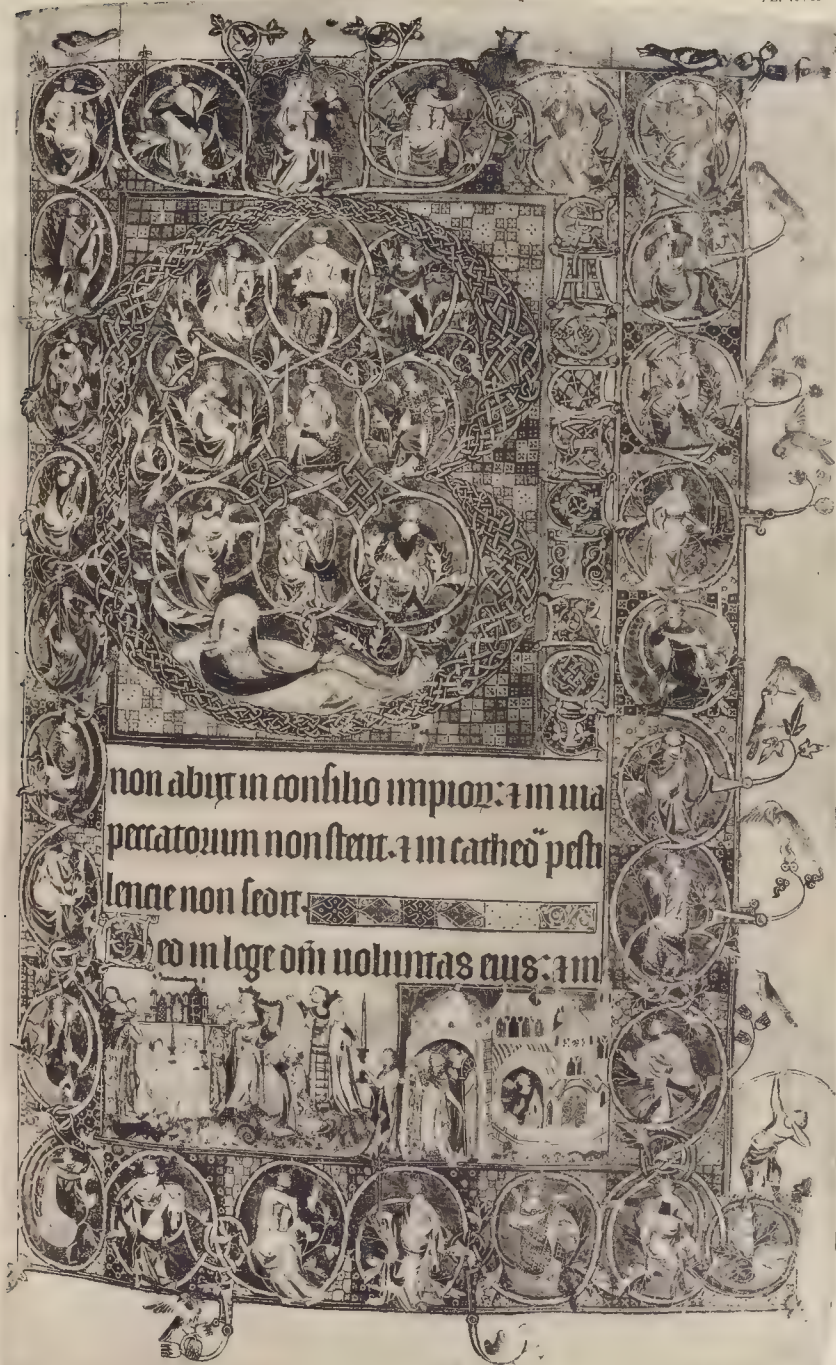
60. F. 68. On lower margin a pope in tiara with single crown standing by a lectern (see Plate XIV).

61. F. 68*b*, Ps. 51. *Quid gloriaris in malicia*. A five-line initial, the interior of which is divided vertically by a pink column. In the left compartment Saul in blue fur-lined mantle, pink tunic and under-tunic, black shoes open at the instep over green hose, and white gloves with red embroidery on the backs, sits in a rather contorted attitude. He is cross-legged and holds a drawn sword over his right shoulder with his left hand, while his right hand is raised as he commands Doeg, a knight in banded mail and pink surcoat, to slay the priests (1 Samuel, xxii, v. 18). In the right-hand compartment Doeg, in a blue surcoat, slays four priests with his sword. They move to r. attired in dalmatic and chasuble. Saul has red hair and beard, like the king in the next picture.

In the border are the shields of England, France, Warren, and in a prominent position between the text and the lower margin that of Roger Bigod (*per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules*). The fields of these and other shields in the book are prettily diapered. (See p. 19.)

62. F. 69, Ps. 52. *Dixit insipiens in corde suo*. A six-line initial. Under a triple canopy a king with red hair and beard, and shoes and gloves as in the last picture, sits holding a drawn sword in his right hand. With his left hand he adjusts the red cord that fastens his mantle. Standing on either side of him are two knights in banded mail. One is drawing his sword from the scabbard. The other holds a drawn sword. They closely resemble the two aspects of Doeg in the picture opposite, even to the vermilion and green linings of their respective surcoats. This is an altogether unusual illustration of this Psalm. It may be a subject that was intended to illustrate the previous Psalm, or it may refer to the words *Corrupti sunt et abominabiles facti sunt in iniquitatibus*.

In the corners of the border there are four seated prophets holding scrolls. In the lower margin between text and border are the shields of Edward the Confessor and St. Edmund, and between them a shield, in all probability monastic, *gules a cross argent between four leopards' heads or* (see Plate X), which may have some significance not only on account of its position of honour, but also in connection with the leopards' heads which are found so abundantly in the line-endings and marginal ornaments (see Plates V, VI, VIII, IX, XII-XIV). (See pp. 19-20, 26.)









63. F. 70, Ps. 53. *Deus in nomine tuo saluum me fac.* A layman in hooded gown praying at a desk. Head of Deity above. Comp. ff. 10, 14, 70b.

64. F. 70b, Ps. 54. *Exaudi domine oracionem meam.* The same man seated reading. Beside him is a shield of the arms of Roger Bigod, already described as on f. 68b.

65. F. 72b, Ps. 55. *Miserere mei deus quoniam conculcavit me homo; tota die impugnans tribulavit me.* A man dressed only in linen drawers. He holds a scourge and his back is wounded. The head of the Deity is shown above, outside the letter.

66. F. 73, Ps. 56. *Miserere mei deus.* Bearded layman and monk kneeling as on f. 67 (see Plate XIV).

67. F. 75, Ps. 58. *Eripe me de inimicis meis.* A bishop on *l.* about to be attacked by two mailed warriors. A third, with buckler and falchion, is in the border. Comp. ff. 9b, 180, and 180b.

68. F. 77, Ps. 60. *Exaudi deus deprecationem meam.* Similar to no. 64.

69. F. 78b, Ps. 62. *Deus deus meus.* A kneeling layman. Comp. f. 70.

70. F. 79b, Ps. 63. *Exaudi deus oracionem.* Similar to Nos. 64 and 68. In the margin a bearded Benedictine or Cluniac.

71. F. 80, Ps. 64. *Te decet ymprus.* A youthful pilgrim with staff and scrip kneels on *l.* A divine hand comes from clouds on *r.*

72. F. 81, Ps. 65. *Jubilate deo omnis terra.* A tall, bearded, white canon stands with left hand raised and book in right hand. Another kneels in the lower margin. Compare the kneeling figures on f. 214b.

73. F. 82b, Ps. 66. *Deus misereatur nostri.* Four kneeling men in hooded gowns, two on either side. Divine hand above.

74. F. 86, Ps. 68. *Saluum me fac deus.* A six-line initial. In the upper portion of the S a boat containing three men, who are throwing Jonah into the sea. The head of the whale is seen under water on *l.* Two women in the prow and stern of the boat look away from the scene of violence.

The lower portion of the letter is divided into two compartments. On *l.* the whale is seen casting up Jonah. Its tail is coiled out of the water and partly hides the boat which is again seen coming to land with two persons on board. Two others have landed and are kneeling with hands joined like Jonah's, in thankfulness to the Deity, who is enthroned in the right-hand compartment with a censuring angel kneeling on either side.

In the corners of the border are four seated prophets with scrolls (comp. f. 69), and there is a kneeling figure near the top of the initial. There are also five shields, those of Despenser, Freyill, Trumpington, Langton (or Clare), and Peche (or Fitzwalter). (See p. 20.)

75. F. 90, Ps. 70. *In te domine speravi.* St. Thomas holding scroll with the words S. THOMAS APOSTOL'.

76. F. 91b, Ps. 71. *Deus iudicium tuum regi da.* Christ seated and showing his five wounds. Comp. ff. 12, 161, and 223b.

77. F. 93, Ps. 72. *Quam bonus israel.* St. Laurence as a deacon holding a gridiron.

78. F. 94b, Ps. 73. *Ut quid deus reppulisti in finem?* A bishop officiating at an altar on *r.*, behind him a deacon, sub-deacon and three others.

79. F. 96b, Ps. 74. *Confitebimur tibi deus.* Five black monks seated in groups of three and two, apparently discussing with the aid of two open books.

80. F. 98, Ps. 76. *Voce mea ad dominum clamavi.* A bearded apostle or saint stands on *l.* with raised hands. (In Vulgate, v. 2, *deum exquisivi manibus meis*, which differs considerably from the English rendering.) On *r.* the Deity appears above.

81. F. 99b, Ps. 77. *Attendite popule.* On *l.* a company of four standing persons listening to Our Lord, who stands with book on *r.* Comp. ff. 64 and 170b.

82. F. 101. In lower margin, two half-naked wrestlers. (See Plate XI. There is a very similar pair on f. 109 of the Ormesby Psalter.) Comp. f. 212.

83. F. 104b, Ps. 78. *Deus venerunt gentes.* On *l.* six men kneel in supplication to the Deity, who stands on *r.* with right hand raised in benediction.

84. F. 107b, Ps. 80. *Exultate deo adiutori.* A six-line initial. In the upper portion Christ seated in a glory with orb in left hand and right hand raised in benediction. A sort of vertical sexfoil, with three loops on either side, is combined with the glory. The seated Christ closely resembles the Christ on f. 86. On each side of Him a kneeling angel swings a censer, and above them are two more, shown to the waist from clouds, similarly employed.

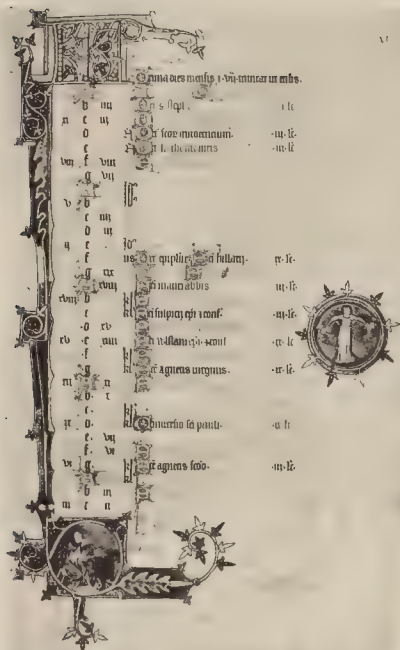
In the lower compartment are seven musicians, illustrating the words *Sumite psalmum et date tympanum; psalterium iocundum cum cythara. Buccinate in neomenia tuba.* They play a hand organ, a harp, an enormous trumpet, a viol, a guitar-like instrument, a psaltery, and a tambourine, all standing except the harpist. In the outer margin there is an eighth musician playing the bagpipes.<sup>1</sup>

In the lower corners of the border there are two seated prophets or apostles with scrolls like those on ff. 69, 86, and 126. In the outer and lower margins are the shields of two families of Clifford (one held up by a knight), Beauchamp, and Valence (Plate V, see p. 20).

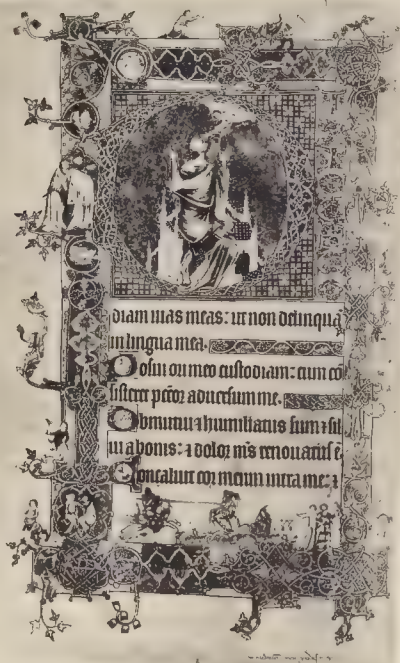
85. F. 108b, Ps. 81. *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum.* The Deity stands between two red pillars. On each side of Him a man is partly shown, with an expression of pleading.

86. F. 109, Ps. 82. *Deus quis similis.* Three men on *l.* are about to be attacked by three mailed warriors, one of whom is drawing his sword. The foremost of the assailed points to his assailants and raises the left hand to the Deity, who appears in clouds above. An illustration of the verse, *Super populum tuum malignaverunt consilium, etc.*

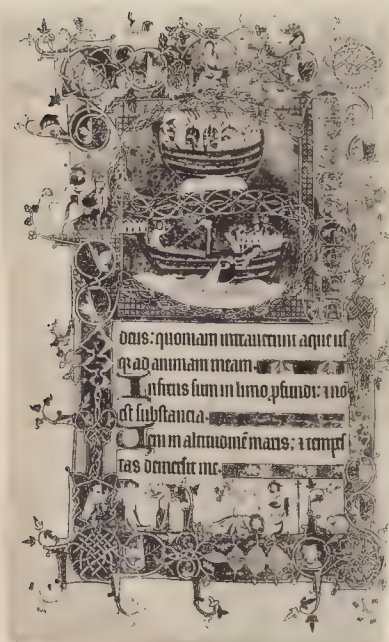
<sup>1</sup> Compare the Musicians in the Lutterel Psalter (New Palaeographical Society, Plate 43).



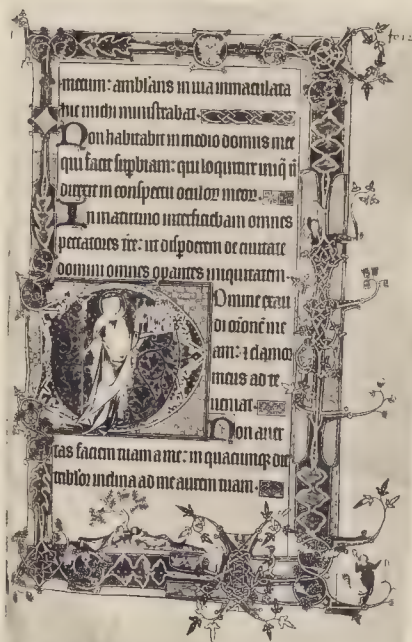
F. VI, Kalendar



F. 186 Ps. 38



F. 83b, Ps. 68



F. 127, Ps. 101





87. F. 110, Ps. 83. *Quam dilecta tabernacula*. A kneeling man Figure-subjects looking up. Divine head above.
88. F. 111, Ps. 84. *Benedixisti domine terram tuam*. A man on *l.* kneels before the Deity, who stands with book on *r.* An illustration of the words *Averte iram tuam a nobis*.
89. F. 113, Ps. 86. *Fundamenta eius in montibus sanctis; diligit dominus portas syon*. At the door of a church a priest in girded alb with raised hands. Similar buildings are shown on ff. 13 and 128b.
90. F. 113b, Ps. 87. *Domine deus salutis mee*. On *l.* a bearded layman seated, and on *r.* a monk in black habit kneeling. Their hands are raised in prayer to the Deity, who appears above. Comp. similar subjects on ff. 116, 67, 73, 114b.
91. F. 114b, Ps. 88. *Misericordias domini in eternum cantabo*. The same figures as in the last, standing, with hands raised in prayer.
92. F. 118, Ps. 89. *Domine refugium*. Three persons kneeling on *l.* Christ with book on *r.* Comp. ff. 64, 99b, 104b, and 123b.
93. F. 119b, Ps. 90. *Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi*. The bearded layman kneeling. The monk standing in the margin. Comp. f. 79b.
94. F. 120b, Ps. 91. *Bonum est confiteri domino et psallere*. Two clerks singing at a desk.
95. F. 121. In lower margin the Virgin Mary lying on a couch, a repetition, with but little variation, of the figure on f. 8, but without the accessories of the Nativity.
96. F. 121b, Ps. 92. *Dominus regnavit*. The Deity seated with orb, and right hand raised in benediction. Comp. ff. 14 and 30, the latter especially.
97. F. 123b, Ps. 94. *Venite exultemus domino*. On *l.* two men kneeling with hands raised, not joined. On *r.* the Deity pointing to a book on a lectern. Similar to the subjects on ff. 64, 99b, 104b, and 118.
98. F. 124b, Ps. 95. *Cantate domino*. On *l.* three clerks standing with hands raised. On *r.* a saint with book.
99. F. 125, Ps. 96. *Dominus regnavit exultet terra*. The Deity rises behind a green mound representing the exultant earth. He holds an orb and blesses. The initial comes at the bottom of the page, and is held up by a knight in banded mail and red surcoat. Comp. f. 134b.
100. F. 126, Ps. 97. *Cantate domino*. The six-line initial C is divided horizontally into two compartments. In the upper one is shown the annunciation to the Shepherds. An angel in girded alb with broad red wings, holds a palm branch in the right hand. Two shepherds, one with a red staff, the other blowing a horn, with a shepherdess in green between them, approach from *r.* On *l.* three sheep with features not unlike those of the musical shepherd.

In the lower compartment three clerks in voluminous copes are singing from a long roll, of which the foremost singer holds one end. The other end falls to the ground over a lectern. The musical notation is on a stave of five red lines.

In the corners of the border there are apostles or prophets with scrolls as on ff. 69, 86, and 107*b*, but there are no coats of arms (Plate VI).

101. F. 127, Ps. 98. *Dominus regnavit*. A head of the Deity of a rather forbidding type. Comp. f. 176.

102. F. 127*b*, Ps. 99. *Jubilate deo*. A bishop in full pontificals. There is a similar bishop on the lower margin of f. 131*b*.

103. F. 128, Ps. 100. *Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo*. The bearded layman and monk singing at a desk.

104. F. 128*b*, Ps. 101. *Domine exaudi*. A five-line initial with full-page border. A beautifully drawn female figure, crowned over a white kerchief and holding in her left hand a building similar to those on ff. 13 and 113. Her mantle is of a slatey blue and is lined with vair. She symbolizes the Church. In the Douai Psalter there is a similar figure. In her left hand she holds a beautifully drawn church with a tall spire, and in her right a long cross on which is the crucified Christ! (see Plate XVIII).

In the corners of the border are the shields of Mountford, Barry (?), Tiptoft, and Clifford (Plate I, see p. 21).

105. F. 130*b*, Ps. 102. *Benedic anima mea domino*. A tonsured man in bed with head on *L*. The Deity appears above.

106. F. 132, Ps. 103. *Benedic anima mea domino*. The death of a woman, who lies in bed with head on *L*. Two angels bear up her soul in a sheet. The Divine hand appears from clouds above. Comp. f. 215*b*.

107. F. 137, Ps. 105. *Confitemini domino*. The Deity seated with raised hands as on ff. 12 and 91*b*, but fully clad and not showing the wounds.

108. F. 140*b*, Ps. 106. *Confitemini domino*. A young man kneeling in confession before a monk in black habit who sits on *r*.

109. F. 143, Ps. 107. *Paratum cor meum*. A layman kneeling before a lectern and altar. Divine hand from clouds on *r*.

(At this point another hand, that of ff. 8-16a, takes up the decorative work, and continues it to the end of the book. His design is splendidly vigorous, and on a much larger scale than that of his companions.)

110. F. 146*b*, Ps. 109. *Dixit dominus domino meo*. Seven-line initial with page-border. God the Father and God the Son are seated under a six-arched canopy on a long bench resembling an ivory box with Gothic decoration. God the Father holds an orb surmounted by a red cross in His left hand. His right hand is raised obliquely with fourth and fifth fingers bent as though to bless the Son, whose right hand is similarly held, His left hand being raised showing the palm. The Dove flies down from clouds between them, bearing a wafer with the letters IHC. In the loops of the D are two adoring angels.

<sup>1</sup> On f. 17 of Eg. 2781, an English Horae of the fourteenth century at the British Museum, a figure resembling the Virgin Mary is represented holding church, banner and chalice. It is an illustration to the 36th Salutation *Ave et gaude . . . maria que in sabbato sancto vacillantibus apostolis sola pro fide ecclesie constanter persististi*. In the same subject in the Carew-Poyntz Horae at the Fitzwilliam Museum, f. 76 *b*, this figure clearly represents the Church, the Virgin being shown separately with four Apostles. Compare the frequent illustration of Church and Synagogue.









In the centre of the lower part of the border are a bishop and an arch-Figure-subjects  
 bishop standing together with right hands raised in benediction. In the lower  
 corners are two quatrefoils containing seated apostles. In the outer limb of  
 the border are the heads of five bearded men, two of them with red crowns.

In the inner part of the border there are seven shields of arms, those  
 of Clifford, Fitzalan, Tiptoft, Marward, another Clifford, Bardolf, and Grey.  
 (See p. 21.)

111. F. 147, Ps. 110. *Confitebor tibi domine*. A seated bishop chastising  
 a bearded penitent who kneels before him. Comp. f. 14b.

112. F. 147b, Ps. 111. *Beatus vir qui timet dominum*. On l. Christ;  
 on r. a kneeling man.

113. F. 148b, Ps. 112. *Laudate pueri dominum*. Five youths stand  
 on l. On r. a small lectern, and above it an angel appearing from clouds in-  
 structing the youths to praise the Lord. Comp. f. 151b.

114. F. 151, Ps. 115. *Credidi propter quod locutus sum*. A bishop  
 officiating at an altar on r. Behind him a deacon holding the paten and a  
 priest in a blue chasuble.

115. F. 151b, Ps. 116. *Laudate dominum omnes gentes*. Four persons  
 stand on l. and receive directions from an angel standing on r. to praise the  
 Lord. Comp. f. 148b.

116. F. 152, Ps. 117. *Confitemini domino*. A surpliced clerk seated  
 and hearing the confession of a bearded layman who kneels on r.

117. F. 154, Ps. 118. (Ps. 119 of our Bible—it is here divided into  
 eleven sections of sixteen verses, instead of into twenty-two sections of eight  
 verses. Each of the eleven sections begins with an historical initial, except  
 sections 2 and 4). Section 1. *Beati immaculati in via*. Two apostles standing  
 together holding books in their right hands.

118. F. 156, Ps. 118, Section 3. *Legem pone michi domine*. The Deity  
 stands on l. and dictates to a man who sits writing on r.

119. F. 158b, Ps. 118, Section 5. *Bonitatem fecisti cum seruo tuo*. A  
 youth kneels on l., and behind him stands another who points to Christ  
 standing on r.

120. F. 159. At foot of page. St. Paul with sword.

121. F. 159b, Ps. 118, Section 6. *Defecit in salutare tuum anima  
 mea*. A sick man in bed with head on l. A man stands at the head of the  
 bed, and a youth at the foot, in attitudes of grief. The Deity appears from  
 clouds.

122. F. 161, Ps. 118, Section 7. *Quomodo dilexi legem tuam*. Christ  
 seated showing His five wounds, as on ff. 12 and 91b.

In the marginal bar, the dead arising from their tombs. Comp. f. 217.

123. F. 162, Ps. 118, Section 8. *Iniquos odio habui*. The murder of  
 St. Thomas of Canterbury. He kneels before an altar on r., and is attacked  
 by three knights. His cross-bearer stands behind the altar.

124. F. 163, Ps. 118, Section 9. *Mirabilia testimonia tua*. Two youths  
 praying. To each of them appears a head of the Deity above.

125. F. 164*b*, Ps. 118, Section 10. *Clamavi in toto corde*. A priest in girded alb kneels before a lectern. The head of the Deity above.

126. F. 165. In upper margin, the return of the dove to the ark, which is a boat like that shown on f. 86 (see Plate IX). In the lower margin, a raven feeding on a pig.

127. F. 165*b*, Ps. 118, Section 11. *Principes persecuti sunt me gratis*. A bishop followed by an acolyte debates with four crowned men who advance from *l*.

128. F. 166*b*. In lower margin, St. Peter with keys. Compare the figure on f. 16, by another hand.

129. F. 167, Ps. 119. *Ad dominum cum tribularer*. This, the first of the Gradual Psalms, is not in Psalters usually treated with special decoration, but here it has a five-line initial with full-page border. In upper portion Christ enthroned in a quatrefoil within which are two adoring angels. Outside the quatrefoil are the symbols of the four evangelists holding scrolls with the names MATHEUS, MARCUS, IOHANNES, LUCAS. In the lower portion of the letter there are three arches. Under the middle one, which is the widest, two men and a third behind kneel in prayer. In the right hand arch kneels a Franciscan, the first of this order that has as yet appeared, though there is another on f. 177*b*. The corresponding figure on the left has suffered damage, but he appears to be intended for a Cistercian or a white canon.

In the lower part of the border, which is a very noble piece of decoration, there are two knights in banded mail with drawn swords.

130. F. 167*b*, Ps. 120. *Levavi oculos*. A youthful layman kneeling in prayer between two trees.

131. F. 168, Ps. 121. *Letatus sum in hiis quae dicta sunt mihi, in domum domini abimus*. In marginal bar, a bishop kneeling before an altar. An acolyte in surplice kneels behind him. Comp. ff. 184, 216*b*.

132. F. 168*b*, Ps. 122. *Ad te levavi oculos meos*. A bearded man kneeling in prayer. In marginal bar, two saints embracing.

133. F. 169, Ps. 123. *Nisi quia dominus erat in nobis*. A priest in girded alb, with the host on a paten, stands at an altar on which is a veiled chalice, and addresses four persons kneeling on *l*.

134. F. 169*b*, Ps. 124. *Qui confidunt in domino*. An angel holding a palm branch is divided by a column from three mailed knights who stand or kneel on *l*.

135. F. 169*b*, Ps. 125. *In convertendo dominus captivitatem Syon*. A group of eight men, apostles or others, looking up. The head of Christ in clouds above.

136. F. 170*b*, Ps. 127. *Beati omnes qui timent dominum*. Christ on *r*. addresses three men on *l*. Comp. ff. 64, 99*b*, 104*b*, 118, 123*b*, 124*b*.

In marginal bar, a bearded saint, and five heads.

137. F. 171*b*, Ps. 129. *De profundis clamavi*. On *l*. the layman kneeling in prayer. On *r*. a black cauldron over a fire which a horned devil blows

with a bellows. The cauldron contains four souls. The head of the Deity Figure-subjects appears above.

138. F. 172*b*, Ps. 131. *Memento domine David*. Christ and St. John the Evangelist (?). On lower margin of f. 173, David playing on a harp.

139. F. 174, Ps. 132. *Ecce quam bonum . . . habitare fratres in unum*. The heads of four bearded men.

140. F. 174, Ps. 133. *Ecce nunc benedicite dominum, omnes servi dei*. Four angels in attitudes of praise.

141. F. 174*b*, Ps. 134. *Laudate nomen domini*. On *l*, two youths and a maiden. On *r*, an angel addressing them from clouds.

142. F. 175. In lower margin St. Andrew bound to a saltire cross. Comp. ff. 11*b* by the same hand. (See Plate XIV and title-page.)

143. F. 176, Ps. 135. *Confitemini domino*. A head of Christ similar to that on f. 127.

144. F. 177*b*, Ps. 137. *Confitebor tibi domine*. A hooded Franciscan sits with an open book. A man kneels on *l* and a woman on *r*.

145. F. 178*b*, Ps. 138. *Domine probasti me*. A prophet, probably Amos, stands on *l*. In front of him a goat and three other animals, perhaps intended for sheep. Above, the head and arm of the Deity.

146. F. 180, Ps. 139. *Eripe me domine ab homine malo*. A bishop on *r*. Behind him a knight who is about to draw his sword. Comp. ff. 9*b*, 75, and 180*b*.

147. F. 180*b*. In upper margin, a similar subject to the last. A priest on *l*, a knight on *r*, drawing his sword. Head of Deity above. Comp. ff. 9*b*, and 75.

148. F. 181*b*. On lower margin, Hell-mouth, with four souls inside and the devil standing on the forehead.

149. F. 182, Ps. 141. *Voce mea ad dominum clamavi*. A clerk singing from a book held in his hands.

150. F. 182*b*, Ps. 142. *Domine exaudi oracionem meam*. A Benedictine seated at a desk, with hands raised. Head of Deity above.

151. F. 183. On lower margin, St. Bartholomew with a knife, under a canopy. See also ff. 11, 37.

152. F. 184, Ps. 143. *Benedictus dominus deus meus*. A bishop in prayer. An acolyte behind him on *l*. Comp. ff. 168, 216*b*.

153. F. 185, Ps. 144. *Exaltabo te deus meus rex*. A king seated at a desk.

154. F. 186*b*, Ps. 145. *Lauda anima mea dominum*. A man lying in bed with hands raised. Head of Deity in clouds on *r*.

155. F. 187*b*, Ps. 146. *Laudate dominum quoniam bonus est psalmus*. Six black monks seated at a desk on which are the words LAUDAM[US] NOMEN TVVM DOMINE.

156. F. 188*b*, Ps. 148. *Laudate dominum de celis*. Outside the initial an angel in girded alb singing at a desk. Inside the initial six other figures,

Figure-subjects similarly attired, and probably meant for angels, though without wings, in attitudes of praise.

157. F. 189<sup>b</sup>, Ps. 149. *Cantate domino*. A head of Christ. This and the next are one-line initials.

158. F. 190, Ps. 150. *Laudate dominum*. Two groups of heads, four on *l.*, and three on *r.*

159. F. 190<sup>b</sup>. *Canticles. Confitebor*. A five-line initial with full-page border. A prophet under a canopy holding a scroll with the words ZACARIAS PROPHETA. This is a mistake, as this canticle is from the twelfth chapter of Isaiah, whose name should be on the scroll.

In the border there are two heads, and a third in profile, which very closely resembles a similar bearded grotesque in MS. Stowe 12 (see Pal. Soc., Series II, Plate 197); and four shields, which have been referred to above (Plate VII, see p. 21).

160. F. 191. *Ego dixi in dimidio* (Isaiah, xxxviii). A prophet with scroll, no doubt Isaiah.

161. F. 192<sup>b</sup>. *Exultavit cor meum* (1 Samuel, ii). Hannah with scroll, ANNE P<sup>r</sup>PHECISSE.

162. F. 193<sup>b</sup>. *Cantemus domino* (Exodus, xv). Moses with scroll, MOYSES P<sup>r</sup>PHA.

163. F. 195. *Domine audiui* (Habakkuk, iii). Habakkuk with scroll, ABACUC P<sup>r</sup>PHETA. A tree beside him.

164. F. 197<sup>b</sup>. *Audite celi* (Deuteronomy, xxxii). Moses again, with scroll, MOYSES PROPHETA.

165. F. 198<sup>b</sup>. On lower margin, the Resurrection. Christ steps from the tomb holding a white cross and banner. A small angel kneels on the tomb on either side of him. Four sleeping soldiers below.

166. F. 199. In upper margin, an apostle with flowing beard.

In lower margin, the Crucifixion with the bearded layman and a black monk kneeling in prayer. (See Plate XIV.)

167. F. 201<sup>b</sup>. *Te deum laudamus* (attributed to St. Ambrose). St. Ambrose with scroll, TE DEUM LAUDAMUS, and a Jew kneeling before him with another scroll, TE DOMINUM CONFITEM[UR].

168. F. 202. On upper margin, an angel with red palm. On lower margin a King sitting cross-legged.

169. F. 203. *Benedicite* (Daniel, iii). The Three Children, one of them holding a book.

170. F. 204. *Benedictus dominus*. (Luke, i.) Zacharias seated with scroll, ZACARIAS PROPHETA.

171. F. 204<sup>b</sup>. In upper margin, David slinging at Goliath, a close repetition of the subject at the foot of the great Beatus page, f. 8.

In lower margin, an apostle without emblem.

172. F. 205. *Magnificat* (Luke, i). The Virgin holding a scroll. The bearded layman on *r.* kneeling before her.

173. F. 205<sup>b</sup>. *Nunc dimittis* (Luke, ii). The presentation in the



Non auferetur. amen. a

Seruite. ame. f. fidei. ae.

Eatus uir qui nō abuit i  
consilio impiorū ⁊ in uia  
peccatorū non stetit: et in  
cathedra pestilencie nō sedit.  
Sed in lege dñi uoluta  
cuius: ⁊ in lege eius medi  
tabitur die ac nocte. ■  
Et erit tamq̃m lignum  
qd̃ plantatū est secus dec  
lus aquarum: qd̃ fructū  
suū dabit in tempore suo.  
Et folium eius nō deflu

et: ⁊ omnia quęcūq; faci  
et semp̃ prosperabunt.

on sic impu nō sic: s̃ tā  
qm̃ plus quem proicit  
uentus a facie terre. ■

Deo non resurgūt impi  
i iudicō: neq; pccōres i r̃sili  
in nouit dñs ui o itoy.  
am iustoy: ⁊ t̃t̃ ip̃oy pibit.

**Q**uare tremuerūt g̃s:  
⁊ ppli meditati s̃t iania

Anterūt reges t̃re ⁊ prin  
cipes conuenerūt in unū:  
adiūs dñm ⁊ adiūs xp̃m e.

irumpamus uida eoy:  
⁊ p̃ciamus a nob̃ uigū ip̃oy.

ui hitat in cel̃ ir̃debit  
eos: ⁊ dñs s̃b̃lānabit eos.

Uc loquet̃ ad eos in ira  
sua: ⁊ i furore suo r̃b̃abit eo.

Ego autem constitutus  
sū rex ab eo sup̃ syon mon  
tem sc̃m ei: p̃dicās p̃ceptū e.

ñs dixit ad me fili m̃s  
es tu: ego hodie genui te.

Ostula a me ⁊ dabo tibi  
gentes hereditatē tuā: et



Temple. Simeon on *r.* behind an altar receives the Child from the Virgin, Figure-subjects who is followed by Joseph, altogether out of proportion, with a basket of doves. This subject is similarly treated on f. 8, in the border.

174. F. 206. *Quicumque vult.* A pope with a scroll, ANASTASIUS PAPA.

175. F. 206*b*. In lower margin. The Virgin seated under a four-arched canopy. The Child stands on her knee.

176. F. 207. In upper margin, the Trinity. A copy of the upper portion of the subject on f. 146*b*.

In lower margin, a bishop and a pope standing together.

177. F. 208. On lower margin, *Noli me tangere.* Christ has a red processional cross. The Magdalen kneels before him.

178. F. 208*b*. *Litany.* In initial K. Three clerks in surplices singing at a desk. In lower margin, a bishop kneeling with a surpliced clerk behind him.

179. F. 210*b*. In lower margin, the Virgin seated (Plate VIII).

180. F. 214. *Collects. Deus cui proprium.* A bishop kneeling before an altar, on which is a veiled chalice. Head of Deity above.

181. F. 214. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui facis mirabilia.* The Deity with orb as on ff. 14, 30, 121*b*. Comp. especially f. 14.

182. F. 214. *Pretende domine famulis et famulabus.* Six praying black monks in facing groups of four and two.

183. F. 214*b*. *Hoc igne.* Nine white monks or friars in prayer, in groups of five and four. They resemble those on f. 81. They are perhaps Carmelites.

184. F. 214*b*. *Deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor mirabilis.* Six Franciscans<sup>1</sup> in prayer, in groups of four and two.

185. F. 215. *Office of the Dead.* (From this point to the end the figure-work is by the same hand as the St. Peter on f. 16.) *Placebo domino.* Five-line initial with page border. The funeral of a Bishop, who lies in full pontificals in a green marble tomb raised above the ground, with a veiled chalice upon his breast. The cover, on which a long cross is incised, lies in front of it. Behind it on *r.* a bishop holding his crozier in his left hand. He raises his right hand as he says the words *Absolvimus te*, which are shown on a book held by a deacon in a blue dalmatic. Behind him stand another deacon in a pink tunick and a third clerk, and on *l.* two canons or Dominicans in black cloaks over white surplices one of whom holds out a red book. Two similar figures kneel in the lower corners of the border, in which there are also six medallions containing heads, expressing grief; one is a king and two are bishops.

186. F. 215*b*. *In die migrationis oratio: Deus cui proprium.* A young man lies dead in bed with head to *l.* His wife sits at the foot of the bed. Two angels carry up his soul in a sheet. Comp. f. 132.

187. F. 215*b*. *In anniversario: Deus indulgentiarum.* A raised tomb, similar to that shown on f. 215. A clerk swings a censer before it. Another, in surplice, holds a book.

<sup>1</sup> These appear to be Franciscans, although their habits are nearly black, and not brown, as on ff. 167 and 177*b*.



188. F. 216. *Pro familiari amico: Omnipotens sempiternus deus cui nunquam.* A bishop with raised hands before an altar on which is a veiled chalice.

189. F. 216. *Pro femina: Quiesumus domine pro tua pietate.* A bier covered by a pall.

190. F. 216. *Pro patre et matre: Deus qui nos patrem et matrem.* The Deity seated with orb as on ff. 14, 30, 121b, 214.

In marginal bar a bearded clerk in *cappa nigra* and surplice, with hands raised in prayer. There are similar figures in the marginal bar of the next page, and in nos. 195, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202. They first occur in no. 185 where I have described them, with some misgiving, as canons or Dominicans.

191. F. 216b. *Fidelium deus omnium conditor.* A bishop kneeling before an altar on r. An acolyte behind him. Comp. ff. 168, 184.

192. F. 216b. *Dirige.* Three surpliced clerks singing at a desk.

193. F. 217. *Lectio I.* A surpliced clerk reading from a book on a lectern the opening words *Parce michi domine.*

In lower margin, five souls rising from tombs. Comp. f. 161.

194. F. 217b. *Responsorium: Credo quod redemptor meus vivit.* A man rising in a tomb. Christ stands beside it, holding a red cross.

195. F. 217b. *Lectio II.* A clerk in *cappa nigra* and surplice reading from a book on a lectern the opening words *Tedet animam meam.*

196. F. 218. *Lectio III.* A Franciscan reading from a book on a lectern the opening words *Manus tue fece[runt].*

197. F. 218b. *Lectio IIII.* An Austin friar reading from a book on a lectern the opening words *Quantas habeo iniquitates.*

198. F. 219b. *Lectio V.* A clerk as in no. 195 reading from a book on a lectern the opening words *Homo natus de muliere.*

199. F. 220. *Lectio VI.* A Benedictine reading from a book on a lectern the opening words *Quis mihi hoc tribuat.*

In marginal bar, a kneeling clerk in *cappa nigra* and surplice.

200. F. 220b. *Lectio VII.* A clerk as in nos. 195 and 198 reading from a book on a desk the opening words *Spiritus meus.*

201. F. 221. *Lectio VIII.* A clerk like the last reading from a book on a desk the opening words, *Pelli mee consump[tis].*

202. F. 222. *Lectio IX.* A clerk like the last reading from a book on a desk the opening words *Quare de vulva.*

203. F. 222b. *In L[audibus] A[ntiphona]: Exultabunt domino.* Three clerks singing at a lectern on which is the word *Exultabunt.*

204. F. 223b. *Oracio: Deus in cuius directione.* Christ seated showing His wounds. Comp. ff. 12, 91b, 161.

205. F. 224b. *Or.: Salvator mundi.* The layman in an attitude of prayer. Above, the head of Christ.

206. F. 225. *Or.: Veniam peto.* The layman kneeling before an altar on r., on which is a gold cross.

207. F. 225b. *Or.: Deus homo fili dei.* The layman kneeling before the crucified Christ.

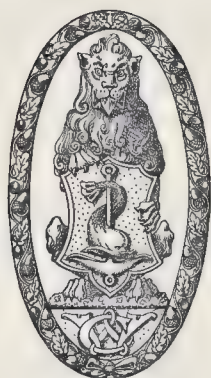






It now only remains for the writer of this essay to thank five friends, Dr. G. F. Warner, Dr. James, Mr. Edmund Bishop, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, and Dame Laurentia McLachlan, O.S.B., for looking through the proofs and making valuable corrections, and to ask any other readers who may notice errors to be kind enough to point them out. It is given to no man to have special knowledge of all the matters that confront the student of a book like the Gorleston Psalter. Much research leads to but slender results, and various mysteries must always be left unsolved by the first enquirer. Since the previous sheets were printed off, Mr. Bishop has explained to me that the reason for the smaller initials to Psalms 149 and 150, mentioned on p. 22, is that the last three psalms are sung together at Lauds as if they were one psalm, without any *Gloria Patri* between them. Prominent among the problems that remain is that of the shield with the leopards' heads on f. 69. The identification of these arms would be specially welcome, as it is likely to throw fresh light on the origin of this great masterpiece of English mediaeval art. In matters of learning, as in other matters, it is good to remember the words painted up by royal order in the ancient palace of Westminster: QUI NON DAT QUOD HABET NON ACCIPIT ILLE QUOD OPTAT.



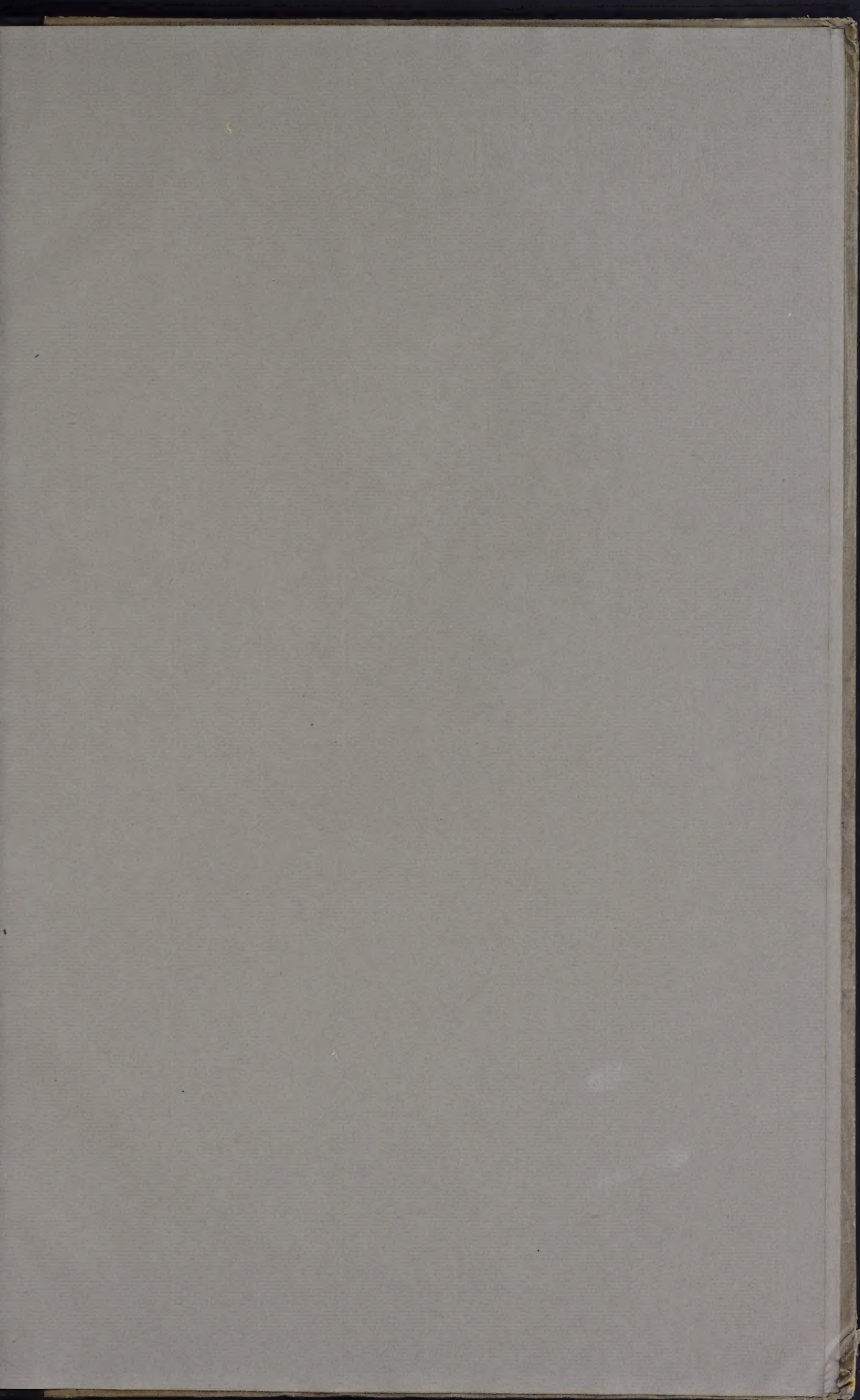


CHISWICK PRESS: CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND CO.  
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.



June









ML 41

Maggs



GETTY CENTER LIBRARY



3 3125 00594 1840

9090

